

Quarterly of the California Historical Society

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Quarterly of the California Historical Society

AN IRISHMAN IN THE GOLD RUSH

THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS KERR

FOREWORD

The year 1849 found Ireland wracked upon a bed of pain. During two previous seasons, blight had struck the potato crops, destroying the food of millions of the poor. Fever, following in the wake of famine, scourged the land. The stricken peasantry crept from their huts to the fields and roadsides seeking to sustain themselves upon weeds, thistles and coarse grasses. Thousands died. Hundreds of thousands were deported or fled on crowded vessels to America, Australia and elsewhere. The population fell from over nine millions to almost half that number in the ensuing years. With the loss of their tenantry the landlords went bankrupt. The middle class — small merchants, artisans, doctors, teachers — becoming destitute were forced to join in the exodus.

In the relief ships from America with their loads of cornmeal and wheat for the sufferers came the news of Marshall's discovery of gold in California. Here was a prospect not so forlorn as the hard fate attending destitute refugees who had already gone to other distant lands. Many responded who would not otherwise have left their beloved Isle. Vessels, fitted out for the voyage 'round the Horn, were soon filled with voluntary exiles.

Thomas Kerr, the author of this Journal, found himself, on his twenty-fourth birthday, taking leave of his family and impulsively embarking upon an enterprise for which he had little taste and still less training. The fever of the gold rush seized momentarily upon him, only to be quenched by a combination of seasickness and homesickness in the first week out. He reached California and remained there, but he never washed a grain of gold. Misfortune followed every step.

No wonder then that his pages are filled with despair and anguish that often enveloped him; no wonder that we sometimes hear his harp strumming in a minor key.

His narrative is too long, much of it too trivial, some of it too poignant, to print in full. Many of the usual experiences on shipboard — the dolphin and shark fishing, shooting at albatrosses and bottles on the yard-arm, and sights of whales and flying fish — we shall also omit. Remaining are some unusual pictures of early San Francisco, Sutter's establishment at the Hock Farm, and the unsettled state of society in those early days. Historically valuable as these may be, the appeal of this journal will be greatest to those who see in it the

precarious flight of a frail human soul in the tremendous scenes of California's "flush times."

We know little of Thomas Kerr except what may be surmised from his *Journal*. He was born on October 4, 1825, in Dundalk, County Louth, Ireland. He had evidently a slight schooling and some practical experience as a book-keeper, general clerk, sign-painter and draughtsman. He had been married about a year when he left his home in Cloughfin Carrigans, Londonderry, for the distant West. His wife, Margaret, and their infant son, James Andrew, followed him to California two years later. She died in San Francisco on October 9, 1883, at the family home at 109 Eighth Street. James became a music teacher and died in San Francisco. Another son, Thomas Henry, was born in San Francisco in 1854. He was with E. I. duPont de Nemours & Company, and died in Berkeley about ten years ago.

Kerr was employed in his later years as a salesman for Parrott and Company, wholesale grocers. He died on August 8, 1888, of apoplexy. His brother John was formerly a bookkeeper for the Gordon Sugar Company; and his brother William has left two sons, Charles and John Kerr, who are now living in San Francisco.

Thomas Kerr's *Journal* comes to us through the courtesy of Mr. Harry Dore, of Berkeley, and is printed with his permission as well as that of the Kerr family. The original manuscript is written in a large leather-backed account book, now well worn and aged in appearance. A few of the author's pen drawings illustrate the trip up the Sacramento River to Eliza City.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

DIARY OF THINGS WORTH NOTICE—DURING MY VOYAGE TO CALAFORNIA—& REMARKABLE EVENTS THERE

Yes and a good many things not worth notice too*

OCTOBER 4TH, 1849

This day has been my birth day & not a very pleasant one to me this year as it had on many previous occasions.

It has also been memorable inasmuch as that I have taken a farewell to my Beloved Wife & family; my home my Country & my friends; & sailed per the Maiden City Steam-Boat; from Londonderry for Liverpool, there to embark the Ship London, for San Fransisco Calafornia; there to seek an independence, as my unfortunate Country is going fast to desolation; I am accompanied by my friend M^r Alexander Mills of Ballougary [Ballingary?]; & Brother-inlaw D^r Baird. M^{rs} Kerr accompanied her brother & I to Derry per the 8 oclock train, she remained at M^r Cunninghams of Waterside [opposite Londonderry] from whence I took my farwell of her. But I trust in Providence that the separation will be but for a short time—The Steam Boat left the Quay at about 2 oclock.

*This comment was added by the author at Eliza City, California, on June 28, 1850, almost a year after the diary was started.

The day was fine; & we had a very good passage to Liverpool; I had not been much sea sick—We got to Liverpool about 12 o'clock next day; & we then looked out for Breakfast as our appetite was pretty sharp; not eating anything since Dinner at 4 o'clock the previous day—We then looked for Lodgings which we succeeded in obtaining at N^o 4 Lain-kauls Square; from a M^{rs} Warham, a nice old Lady but required some humouring by times—M^r Mills and I engaged a cabin passage each in the London at £60 per one D^r Baird, did not as he purposes going by Pannama to be there at San Francisco some time before us, We have taken all the Luggage with us - - - - -

We had been Two Weeks knocking about thro' Liverpool before the London weighed Anchor; & during that time it is unnecessary here to mention how uneasy In mind I have been—& sorry for leaving my family behind. God only knew the state of my mind. I however Communicated daily—home by letter & received answers Likewise in return. I felt almost disposed to return back; & make arrangements for bringing M^{rs} Kerr with me; but as the vessel was expected to sail dily [daily] time did not permit me.

1 to 7 [days out] FRIDAY 19th OCTOBER 1849

At about 12 o'clock—the Ship London of Liverpool sailed out of the mersy—D^r Baird saw M^r Mills & I aboard — & hoped to see us at San Francisco & have a dinner ready for us on our arrival there—

The day was fine & heaven appeared to smile on us—But at night it came on a perfect hurricane—& continued for 2 or 3 days & nights successively & owing also to Contrary winds we had been rocking about for a week almost in despair —& from the Sea Sickness I had which Confined me to bed for a week in conjunction with our tossing about made me deeply regret the day I first thought of going to Calafornia—I trust Provedence shall ever keep me from being in the Same State of mind—

8 FRIDAY 26 OCT. 1849

This was the first favourable day we had since we sailed I think our prospects are beginning to Brighten—Weather fine but rather Hazy—Saturday 27th was also another very fine day—& I'm getting stronger—

25 TUESDAY [NOVEMBER] 13 LAT. 23°—40'' NORTH

2 Knots This morning as the previous ones Calm & warm with little Breezes; about 9 o'clock in the morning the Captains cap fell over Board he got down by a rope along the side of ship, could not reach the cap, then went down another at the stern but it was useless, he then got a Boat lowered, & Two or Three hands in it which after a few minutes returned with the cap—One of our Cabin Passengers M^r Freeman; proved to us by experiment that a Wine Bottle tightly corked & sealed sunk to the depth of say 100 Fathoms or perhaps less, Will Come up with the cork pushed in & the seal broken with the full of the Bottle of water tho it had been sealed up empty —towards evening we caught a favourable wind which drove us at the rate of 5 miles per hour; but

about day Break we lost it It was a very pleasant sight to see the setting of the sun now in the tropics, beautiful crimson interspersed with violet color;

29th DAY OF SAILG KNOTS 5½

LAT. 15°-0'-8" NORTH

SATURDAY NOV^r 17th 1849.

This day not so breezy as yesterday, but on the whole its pretty favourable; we had been of[f] the Cape Verde Isles but not Visable; I am getting so lazy for want of something to do that I fear I shall get a bad habit on ship Board; I won 2/4 after tea at spoil five, off the Cabin Passingers; We generally play an hour or two at Cards at night to pass a little of our Idle time—which we find rather an amusement; this I forgot to notice in my Journal before,

[On November 21 the Captain spoke the vessel *Achilles* from London bound for Sydney. On the 22d they met a Dutch barque homeward bound; on the 23d were passed by the ship *Token* from Gravesend, London, for Bombay; on the 25th met the *Cisellia* of Bordeaux, homeward bound, were passed by a Swedish bark called the *Sylphids*, bound for Rio de Janeiro, and saw at least five other vessels that morning.]

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MONDAY 26th

The morning was fine & Continued so all day very little wind; with slight showers of rain; this is the day before we cross the Line and according to custom the sailors made preparations for the shaving on the morrow, about 8 oc in the even; Neptune was haild A shot of a gun was fired when the God of the sea made his appearance to a crowd of spectators, next he gone to the Poop & demanded to see the Captain, which request was instantly comlied with he then handed him a letter to the intent that he understood there were some of his children on Board, & with the Captains permission requested they should be prepaired to meet him the following day at 3 oC, the Capt detained him for some time, asking him A good many questions, during which time the sailors or a portion of them were very busy carrying up buckets of water to the riggings & Cradles, unknown to the remainder of the Crew & passingers, so when the Capt thought he gave them sufficient time to have enough of water carrid he gave Neptune a Tumbler of Rum & water; & as the procession wer marching from the Poope Back to the forecastle, those who were among the rigging with the water lashed it unmercifully on top of these who were under; so when they came down on the deck, with the Buckets all hands ran for them & then each threw Buckets full of water on whom he could even the Capt & Cabin passingers were at [it] hard & fast too, M^r Caddle [and?] I escaped when all was over we went into the Cabin to play a game of Cards & have a glass of grog—We spent about an hour in this way & discussing about the bath, some saying how fortunate they were to escape; among which M^r Caddle spoke strong of the manner in which escaped; but as we were in the height of our argument the Second Mate who was Brother to the Capt, informed us

that there was a Steam Boat homeward bound & was pretty close to us, Immediately we all ran breathless to the deck to witness a sight that would appear so pleasant, for the moon shone very bright, all eyes wer anxiously looking out for the Steam Boat I at last thought it was a trick of some sort & looked up the mast that was just beside me when to my surprise beheld 2 or 3 sailors with Buckets of water, I instantly rushed into the Companion & was scarcely under Cover when a sheet of water dashed on the spot I so lately stood in & Came about the head and shoulders of our friend M^r C, & was followed by a couple more Buckets of water before he had time to leave the way—he of Course rushed into the Cabin too as quick as possible foaming; at a great rate he was almost in a state of madness to think of his being taken in so very simple, the Capt & others soon followed after M^r Caddle & they also got a dip—I very fortunately escaped; but we all had a great laugh at our poor friend the Scotchman—it kept him from Boasting any more this night—

But I forgot to describe Neptunes Dress, after the shot was fired a huge form made its appearance on deck all drssd in oil cloths paintd Black wearing a Mop for drying the deck on his head for hair the cords of which hung down to his waist; his face was tared over—which made him a frightful spectacle;

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TUESDAY 27th

This was a very fine day not too warm which answered all the better for the Shaving—at 3 oc M^r Nep made his appearance at the steerage (accompanied by his secretary our Sale maker & who was to act after in the capacity of Barber—) to ascertain who was to suffer to be shaved or who would concede to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ a Gal of rum as a fine escape the operation getting their Beard taken off all agreed to pay the $\frac{1}{2}$ Gal of rum each; so they got I suppose 6 Gals there, next they went to the Cabin and each passenger gave a Gallon which amounted to 6 more—so then there was none to be shaved except 5 of the sailors all the others Crossed it before—these 5 chaps were put into the hold to prevent them seeing the preparations that was making for their reception—the first step was to get a large Wind sale which they managed to Construct as a reservoir or Cistern to hold water the Circumference of the Cistern Could not be less than 20 feet & about 4 feet high into this they pumped salt water till it was nearly filled—Two or 3 sailors were Created Bailiffs, who were ordered to go down to the hold for the first of their victims, they shortly came up leading before them one of the Chaps whith his hands bound behind his back & a handkerchief tied round his eyes—he was lead up to a temporary throne (beside or) at the edge of the water where he was instantly seated on it, Neptune was facing him, the Barber on one side & Neps wife on the other — she was one of the sailors dressed up in the apperel of a woman, with a large basin of water & meal, together with a Tin full of Tar & grease Mixed — Neptune questioned the shaving man & every time he opened his mouth to answer he got a fist full of the Meal & Water Cram^d into it after which he Would get a Brush full or two of the composition of Tar & Grease rubbed over his face—which would be followed by the barbers razor (a piece of rusty Hoop iron)

this operation was performed 2 or 3 times when of a sudden the poor fellow was tumbled head over heels into the water & was then recvd^d by two sea Nymphs, [who] gave the fellow a good ducking & washed him well, with the struggling in the water the Cap would break the strings that tied him & then he would do his endeavour to duck the others—which when they would tire themselves well theyd' Come out, & all the other 4 went thro a repetition of the same exercise—when all were shaved the the other sailors & many of the steerage passengers threw each othr—into the water & tumbled about like porpoise—the sailors had more water on the Cradles & lashed it down on the deck in all directions, which was joined by the whole of the passingers & crew—We all got more or less water, about us, except our friend the Scotchman—that got such a duck^s the evening before, & a fat englishman, whom was Christn^d Jack of Clubs from his appearance—he was as fat as a barrel—the way he escaped he was up on the top mast & did not Come down till all was over, & yet the sailors watched him but he managed to escape, there was another young man—in the steerage lying sick—he escaped to but was not able to be up to see the fun—the sailors then drank 2 or 3 Glasses each of Grog which ran in their head a little & they had a little squabble among themselves, which did not last long—

But our evenings entertainment did not rest here for some of our Steerage Passingers managed to get up a play for the occasion, which were aided by the Captain & Cabin passingers; & indeed the Capt very kindly got up the awning & with it & some of the sails very soon made a Tip top Tent with an apartment for the actors to Dress &c—The Union Jack made a very fine Curtain for the front which was raised by the Two mates when required—those young men who got up the play were Messers Barlie, Shirwood, Strop, & a Jew called Spyns. The stage managr was a French man—a pretty clever person too, the Orchaster was composd of 2 flutes 2 Cornopeons one of which I play^d, & our Cook (a Nigger) rattled away on one of his Tin Boilers that he kept between his legs this was a substitute for a Drum—at 7 Oc the Curtain was raised & the performance Comc^d with the favourite play called Bombastis Furioso, in two acts, this they got thro very well & the next was 2 songs; which was followed by a farce called the Yankie showman—M^r Barlie & the Frenchman were the principal characters—the latter acted as Jacko, the Monkey & from the way he was dressed & walked on all fours; together with the addition of the Baird he cultivated since he left Liverpool (for he had not put a razor on his cheek since he came out) added much, in making him resemble the Baboon tribe; this piece had the audiance in fits of Laughter; the next was a Polka; but the music was so very bad it could not be danced to, so 2 of the sailors got up & gave us a step; while some of the party whistled a jig for them; next was a New song called the steerage of the London; to be sung by M^r Brooks; but poor fellow he was drunk & not able to appear on the stage—so the whole company joined in a sort of recital of it, It had been composed by the steerage passingers; during their first fortnight of sailing & it gave a very good description of the miseries they then endured

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FRIDAY 30th

This day somewhat warmer, tho our fair wind still continues, a great many of the Potatoes which were put up in Barrels were examined & wer found to be every one rotten, the Capt says that out of 8 Tons that he had leaving Liverpool he will not have more than 2 Tons of good ones—this is lamentable—if we will not have potatoes for Dinner the whole voyage

47

WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 5th 1849

About 8 oclock we exchanged flags with a whaler called, the J. E. Donald of New Bedford, a Yankee the mate instantly came on board with the Captains Compliments for some Newspapers which he got, both vessels were close; when he found out we were bound for Calafornia he said if he could overtake us his Capt would come aboard again to send letters to his 2 late mates, now in Sanfransisco; there was another vessel about 1½ miles distant to which we also bent a flag, & telegraphed her, we only found out that she was an english vessel, & her name was The Barbria, now I think this is M^r Dan^l Bairds vessel of Derry—tho we signalised to know where he was from & where Bound to he did not answer us, perhaps he was in bad humor to find that we were passing him—

Shortly after the Yankee Whale Captain lowered his Boat; we put about, a little & slackend Canvass & in a short time he was on board the London, the Capt introduced the Cabin passingers to him—he would take no breakfast as he had taken his at 7 OC he was a tall man 6 ft 4 inches, rather slightly made he gave us good accounts from the new Eldorado as he had several friends there & recv^d communications from them he of course had a right to know he was the best specimen of yankeecism I have yet saw, he said one of his late mates in writing to him from sanfransisco said it would not pay there to stroke T's, or dott I's, the other mate he said was so saving that when he would catch a dollar in his hand he could squeeze it till he'd make the eagle cry out, he however dined with us, and we had a fine days chat on different subjects, he is a very nice fellow, but had a tremendous Baird & moustach, he sometimes is out on a voyage cruising away thro the southern islands & many other parts for 3½ years his crew is 32 in No he is now going round the Cape horn & will likely be in Company with us; he always has 2 men on watch for whales sitting on the very tip top masts, one on each I should think their position not very enviable, But they dont think much of it, this day we spent very pleasant being so much taken on with our new visitor—I got from him 32 yds. white drill calico @ 7½ per yd, 25 lb shot @ 4^d per lb—Cost 6¾ dollars

48

THURSDAY 6

This day very fine pretty breezy We were a short piece before the whaler, not near enough to go on board, I got my box out of the hold & had all in it tossed out & eared they were not much injured by damp, our friend the Whaler is, Keep^s up to us better, But I forgot to mention that the Capt of the whaler told us he was on Board a Yankie ship Bound for Sanfransisco, at the Line, we

were in view of her today She is called the Martha of [Nantucket¹] we will likely come in with her about the horn if not sooner,

49

FRIDAY 7

This day thro out was rather fine too with some breezes about evening, the Yankie Whaler was a head [of] us this morning but not far; we, the Capt, Mills, Webster & I had a Lunch about 1 oc & then lowered the Boat & went over the whaler the Capt was glad to see us, & shewed us everything belonging to his whaling. We spent a very pleasant evening with him he gave us plenty of oranges, & sumptuous Tea or Supper in regular Yankee stile he had a superabundance of different Breads, Cakes, pies, & a lot other things among which was a Potatoe pie, the Best thing I have tasted for a long time, Jonathan gave us no grog, as he is a Temorolperate person, but he had lots of other tings, that were very good,

50

SATURDAY DECEMBER 8th 1849

Morning very fine, our friend the Yankee Whaler is somewhat behind, the Martha bound for Sanfransisco, fell behind to board the Whaler as he wanted a Barrel of Tar off him, we spoke her, and had 3 cheers for Calafornia, the accounts, from there the time he left Nantuckey (near New York) was good, he was upper of 50 days out, had 44 Passingers on board; We asked him on Board, & he asked our Capt to board his too, but as the other was falling back so much, both declined till she would come up to us again, we were in sight of both till about 6 oc when a very severe squall arose which lasted, the greater part of the night, it was a[the rest of the word almost obliterated] with heavy rains; & here we lost the Trades & also lost sight of those Two Yankee vessils,

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SUNDAY, 9th

Rain this morning with very little winds we see a french ship about a couple off miles distant, about 3 oclock A ship Called the British Empire, homeward bound lowered her Boat, the Mate came on Board the London to learn when we lost the trades & what sort of passage we had he, went out to Sidney with emigrants & from thence to Lima from which he has a cargo of Guano & now sails to Cork for orders, Mills & I and many of the passingers put letters on board her, we were all very much rejoiced at it indeed I hope they may go safe I was much annoyed that I could not get My seal so I had put a wafer on, she has been 50 days from Lima here, my letter was a very detached one, being only a rough sketch, I had spent the last Two days, Copying it on a sheet of foolscap in a small Lithograph hand, & had about the half of it finished, what a pity after all my trouble I had not got it all done; however I shall [send] the half I have had so much pains with when I get to Valparizo, now I expect M^{rs} Kerr will have this letter by Valentines time Which I dere say will be a welcome one too — There is a French ship in sight not very far off had a little gale of wind but contrary—have seen nothing of the Martha or Whaler.

¹ See Haskins, C. W., *The Argonauts of California*, p. 464.

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TUESDAY 11th

This morning has reminded me of the many pleasant days I've spent in childhood along the Luryangreen Shoar for not a breath of wind was out, & the stillness of the water, the rising sun & the nice bright clouds above had brought at once to my recollection those pleasant pictures of youth; there had not been a curl on the waters, our ship would not steer any way—but went every way & yet made no progress, in such a calm—Some of the crew & steerage passingers had leaped over board, to Bathe—they appeared to enjoy it much, after Breakfast; the Captain Lowered his Boat, Mill, Webster & I accompanied But the second Mate was in the Boat watching, this is an experiment I dont purpose making again; for I think we might pay too dear for it; should it be repeated often When we were out in the Boat I was much amused at seeing little Peter, the Cabin boy—a lad about 10 or 12 years of age, stand on the Bulwaks of the London, & leap repeatedly into the water, swim about, & then climb up the side of the vessel again,—but what was also rather laughable; among the steerage passingers there was a young man, Called Armstrong a sort of Doctor, his general Character was consceeted, & had a good deal to say about every thing & yet knew nothing—as we were coming rowing the Boat to the ship. we saw one of the steerage passingers let the Doctor down the side of the ship with a rope round his waist, he plunged about for a while; & could swim a little—when he was 10 minutes down they were taking him up again by the rope, at this time it was one of the young sailors was hauling him, the Doctor was too weighty the chap let go the rope & down he fell splash into the water & under it too for about 2 minutes, he caught the rope again & was brough on deck, this taught him a lesson never to trust himself into water again by a rope, when he cant swim—they all set up a great laugh at him—our days amusement did not rest here, for the Capt set a hen out into the water to shoot at Mr Webster fired the first shot & killed it, we had then to throw out Bottles and fire at them, we had dinner an hour earlier, than usual as a party of us purposed to row over to the French ship that we had seen for the last day or two—at 2 oc Messrs. Hendren, Webster, Mills,—Barlee, Smithers, Stroh, the French man, Isaac & I with one of the sailors set off to Board the French ship—she was about 7 miles distant—our mate was at the helm—

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WEDNESDAY DEC^r 12th 1849

Morning rather calm about 8 oC We had a shark Caught on a hook, But the line being too weak it broke it, one of our sailors had Jumped overboard an hour before after a hen, this is warning enough for me not to venture out to bathe any more on the Voyage; only fancy how any of us would look if we should loose our legs, or head in, the Jaws of the Sea King—the Yankee Whaler makes his appearance some 10 miles or so behind, the French ship is before, & about 8 oc hoisted her ensign, We returned the Compliment—she took down some, Canvas to; to give us an opportunity of getting up to him, and about, 12 oC we overtook him—We asked him to come on Board; but, his boat leaked water, & then, our Capt lowered his Boat, so he M^r Hendren & I, Boarded her

we were close; there wer 2 Passingers we found she was called the Valliant of Bourdeaux,—Bound to Valpirazo, for orders, she may likely go on to Sanfransisco, as her principal Cargo is, Lumber & Woodnen Houses, (I forgot to mention that the frenchman belonging to our steerage, we brought to interprit for us) We were recvd very, kindly & politely by them; the Capt could speak no english, but his two passingers explained to him what we said, he begged our Capt to sell one of his Chronometers, to him as the one he sailed with was old and no good; he gave him one of the instrumts as he had 2, he got £45 for it, which was Cheap it being little worse than new; he was quite delighted to get it even at any money; as it was so uncertain to sail without a good one; he told us 10 days ago when we spoke an American ship he was 200 miles out of his Course, & by hard calculations he managed to keep pretty fair till he came in sight of us a few days ago; We stopped for Dinner — but before it was ready we drank ½ an ale glass of Claret, each so we then Chatted about for an hour or two, at 4 OC Dinner was on the table, it was a very excellent one, served up in first rate stile, in fact I thought they would never have done bringing in dishes, & Changing plates, this latter was repeated with every dish,—the first, dish was excellent Soup, second, preserved fed veal, Third preseved Mushrooms, in oil, Fourth, Peas in oil, Fifth, Roast fowl, sixth Kidney Beans in oil & Vinegar, to these we had first rate bread, they have a regular Baker on Board as steward, in fact its better than any Bread I've got ashore as the flower is so much better; at the change of each dish we took each a full glass of Claret, it was delicious next Came the desert, which consisted of Almonds dried Plumbs, Cheese & some sort of plumb that was preserved in Brandy; together with a superior quality of Claret, then Came Coffee, the best I've tasted since I left home & if I had cream I would venture to say I never took better; so we done the French Captains table every sort of justice; & liked everything much except the Mushrooms, none of our party except, the Frenchman, that we brought seemed to relish it; I like the french manner of Cooking, & also think a great deal, of our kind; and attentive entertainers; the Capt is a most gentlemany man, & so is the other french passinger, a fine fellow, he speaks english the other passinger is english but had been a long time in France; Jolly Chap fond of good living, & fond of his wine too very goodnatured, Our Capt asked the 3 on board tomorrow to dine if we be near enough, they made the Capt a preasant of 7 Bottles Brandy, 1 Case of Claret

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SATURDAY 15th

Morning calm, & warm afternoon rather cold and a nice wind, with a Tendancy to rain, heavy dew falls tonight, the French ship about 5 miles ahead of us, the vessel we saw yesterday even is yet a good distance before us too, say—10 or 12 miles, she is a Yankee; the Capt Cut out a pair of trowsers, of ligh Canvas that I got from the Capt of the Whaler, I sewed about the half of them, did not yet finish the habersack I commenced yesterday even, we tied a cord round the little dogs body, & let him down a stern in the water, he got a fine

wash — & then we let the cat down in like manner she swam well after the ship but soon would tire — when she was taken up she looked quite savage, I got the ½ dozen of shirts from the steward that he washed —

60

TUESDAY DEC^r 18th 1849

This morning very rough; wind high, at about 12 oC there came on a squall; the waves were almost mountain high above the Ship sometimes she would be almost perpendicular on her s[t]ern; other times she would be quite on her Broad side; again the Bow split would be seen touching the water too betimes; which with the spray coming over made the deck in a sheet of water & rendered the fore part very uncomfortable to the steerage passingers sometimes she would ship a heavy sea & would leave the whole ship from poop to forecastle in a flood; in one of those; the Longboat mess got their dinner upset, & the her-ringbarrel that was beside them was upset in M^r Barlees face, & made a pretty mess off him, M^r Smithers told me he was quite up to his knees in the water.— I saw Shirwood getting the full benefit of a heavy sea two or three times about his shoulders & many others; the steerage passingers got, the spray even in their berths when in bed, the hight of the rolling of the waves could scarcely be credited except by an eye witness—I could Compare them to nithing, but large rolls of drifting snow;

62

THURSDAY 20th

I was awake this morning by a sudden pitch of the vessel; (about 5 oC) which was followed by another that broke our Cabin Lamp & cruet stand—they and the dumb waiters for holding the glasses, were suspended to the roof over the table by hooks in a brass bar or rod, & with the sudden jerk, the dumb waiter which was brass, Came in Contact with our nice Lamp & made smash of it its a pity; we shall have to do with Candles as well as we can till we get to Valpirazo, the storm abated after Breakfast, & we have a good favourable wind—I am very unwell took some medicine, confined to bed the greater part of the day—& have scarcely eaten any thing but a little arrow root; which did not lie long on my stomach I am informed that the Long Boat or as they are generally stiled the Aristochratic Mess have separated; they have Kept together just Two months; they are now divided in 3 parts, two of 2 each & another of one—but this last has joined another party—this mess have kept much longer together than any of the others—but its now dissolved & which shows that the Aristochrats are but mortals as well as the democrats—

67

TUESDAY DEC^r 25, 1849, CHRISTMASDAY

This was a dull christmas to me as well as to all the passingers on Board; and what made it more unpleasant, from about 4 oc in the morning till 12 at night, the rains; winds, & lashing of the waves never ceased, it was tremendous severe; everything in the cabin pitching out of its place in profound confusian; such

weather is dishear[te]ning; I, thought we would be at Cape Horn by this time — It was a sorrowful day to our Darkie Cook — he transgressed some way in the morning & it Came under the Captains notice; & when he went to reprimand him for his conduct the gave back answers so the Capt joined him & such a trashing no man or mortal ever got as the Darkeie and richly he deserved it — for, all the people on Board were Complaining of his conduct & his impertinence to them—he will not get leave to go into the Galley any more & will be dismissed when we get to Valparizo—for his abuse to the Capt, such a Blasphemer I never heard or saw before he had been tied on the deck, the rain & wind dashing in his face, & was afterwards put into the Coal hole—he is a Bad specimen of humanity

76

THURSDAY [JANUARY] 3rd [1850]

This morning we have a fair wind from the east but its changeable, dont keep steady; we are overtaking a ship thats ahead of us—& was within a few miles of her when we tacked after which we soon lost sight of each other Brooks, threatens Delerium Tremons; If he dont get grog

77

FRIDAY 4th

have a pretty fair wind this morning, but unsteady as usual, met with the ship Adaline of New Bedford from the Sanwich Islands, home, she is a whaler & a Yankee, before night we had a calm

83

THURSDAY 10th

Morning Cold some sleet showers; afternoon pretty warm; little wind towards evening, but what we have is rather favorable; I work still at my little Dressingcase, got Dick our Carpenter to make a lid for it; The steerage Passengers sent a, London Times to the Cabin; Its the first Copy of a weekly newspaper which they purpose writing during the remainder of our voyage there are some amusing Incidents in it, I arose at 6 oc this morning—

86

SUNDAY JANR^y 13th 1850

... there's an American Schooner, a head of us we are making up fast on her; she is a very fast sailing Craft; we passed her before 4 oC, not close enough to speak her either but merely exchanged flags, she is a beautiful built vessel; & a Baltimore clipper, which am told are some of the fastest sailers; she has a good many passingers, probably she is for Calafornia she rides the storm well, for about this hour the wind rises higher the waves lashes; and the rain pours in torrents she may be about 200 Tons Burthen or perhaps less, this was the best match we got yet since we left but we are once a head of her & still so We are round the Horn today; and the lenght of our day is still more surprising; in fact we have no night at all; for the hour or two that might be termed night theres a good twilight;

99

SATURDAY 25th [26th] JAN^y 1850

This morning really fine we are getting into warm weather sun shines beautiful; the whole day, its no lie to Call this the Pacific Ocean for the sea is quite peaceful We have had no heavy seas' since we turned the horn—the steerage passiners gave us a comcert this evening All the Cabin pass^{gr} went to it except M^r Cadell, even the Cap^t, the stile of the thing was got up rather well; a few pretty good songs had been sung; but I could without flattery to myself beat the Best of them at a song—between the songs we had a glass or two of grog Poor Freeman took a glass too much & was in a quear state, Jack of Clubs was 3 sheets in the wind too, & began to fight with the Sailors, & got himself a black eye

100

SUNDAY 26 [27]

. . . 3 ships in sight before us. M^r Freeman suffers much from the effects of last nights drink

102

TUESDAY 28th [29th] JAN^y 1850

This morning very fine almost calm, there is a thick fog; about 9 oc we got a little gale of Wind, & about ½ past 9 fore noon for the first time since we left the Tasker behind we "*sighted Land*," thro' the Fog—I dere say we were not more than 15 miles off it—We hoisted our signal to a vessel somewhat a side of us to keep off as she did not see the land; for she was heading down on it—we could see the waves dashing on the rocks quite plain—We put our ship about to keep farther of the coast—least we should come on a rock—We kept pretty close to the ship we segnalized; & about 3 oclock the Capt lowrd his boat & Webster, Mills & I accompanied him to pay the Yankee a visit—We were 21 minutes rowing to him—We were rec^{vd} Kindly by the Capt & passingers, We found her to be the Mary Mitchell of New York Bound to Sanfransisco; with 62 Souls on board, 50 of whom were passingers—she will put in at Valpirazo; she was then 5 months & 10 days out, but the stopp at Rio Jenerio for 20 days—they lost 3 passingers, died of Feaver—such a rough looking set of fellows I never seen all of which cultivated moustaches & Huge whiskrs—this Day for the first I saw land; & also for the first time I laid my eyes on a Lady—there were 6 on Board; the crew & Capt all leave the vessel; when they get there—& the Mate then takes charge & brings her to China The Capt has his wife & 2 or 3 children with him, there is an old lady of abt 58 bringing out her Daughter upon speck, to get her married—and I wonder the Old Lady lived on such a long passage; she had been very unwell she said & even yet she is not bettr—They had fine favourable acc^{ts} from Calafornia; even so late at [as] 27 Nov^r

105

FRIDAY, 1st FEBRUARY 1850

We are even yet becalmed which is our 4th day to be thus its really vexaceous—The Capt Lowered the boat at 11 oc & Webster Mills, Hendren & I boarded her, she was the Thompson Augusta, from the state of Maine, 200 Tons, 60 people

on board All for Sanfransisco, some of them are upwards of 60 years of age, & the Capt is an old man, was not at sea for the last 15 years before, but he & some dozen of his neighbours entered into partnership & fitted out this vessel She is 125 days out, stopped 10 days at Rio Jenerio, they spoke a vessel from France, yesterday & she had on board 48 Passingers, & only 40 Gals of water they also spoke The St George, from Hull sailed much about the time we did about 3 oC we got a breath of wind, favourable

106

SATURDAY 2nd FEB

This day we got on pretty well tho very slow & at 3 oc we came to an anchor in the Bay of Valparaiso—but before we Came into the Bay what numbers of Whales we saw yes hundreds of them—

We dropped the anchor about 1½ miles from the Landing stage—What crowds of vessels are in the port, the town does not present a very pleasing like apearance—from the Bay—the Coast all around is hemmed or bordered by Barren Mountains, part of Valparaiso is along side the Mountain & runs nearly to the top of the hill, where the Chillians have their fortifications—from which they Can Command both town & Bay—We got ashoar about half past 7 oc we were not 15 Minutes on the street when the natives Called out after us Calafornia — this had been repeated several times — we walkd about, for some two hours, looking for the post office, but it was closed; & with much difficulty we found a hotel & ther had some refreshment, & at which place fell in with two gentlemen who gave very bad accounts of Calafornia, one of them was a Capt Brown & elderly man, & said he left his family & property in New South Wales & try a Trip to Calafornia; he said he remained at Sanfransisco for 11 days only & was tired of it as his sailors deserted him, the other was the mate of the John Rickson, the Capt of which had been drowned; going into the Town of Sanfransisco as the Boat accidentally capsised & in the struggle was lost, he the then mate took charge; and got the vessel discharged by his own hard work & an apprentice who helped him, he said he was at the mines, I believe he had been 5 months at Calafornia, & he says, that there is hard work in it but if so there is ample remuneration he has given a better account than Capt *Brown* the mate said he eareened a good deal of money in the Bay; as he & the Boy, went in their Boat & discharged vessels thus, they made some money But when he wanted to get the Vessel home to Liverpool again he went to the Com^{dr} of the British Naval vessels; & told his intentions; he immedieately put a Lieutenant & some sailors on Board, to man the John Rickson to England again, but the mate who took Charge after the death of his Cap^t, thought; on the voyage to Valparaiso they were not giving justice to his ship & someway interfered so he told me they put him in Irons & put into Valparaiso there to hold an investigation into the matter.—

Any of us that were disposed went in a Boat to our vessel about 10 oc & some of the others remained ashoar all night—One thing which very much astonished us & was a means of keeping us back, when making inquiries about anything, we could not understand what the natives said nor did they know what we spoke either, thus we were often led astray—

107

SUNDAY 3rd FEBR^y 1850

This day thro' very fine & exceedingly hot till about 4 Oc when it then blew such a hurricane many of the vessels drew their Anchors, & drifted nearly 3 miles out, it continued blowing for 5 hours, or so—I must say with regret that this day has not been spent by us, [as] it should—We should have gone to the House of the Lord & offer thanks for preserving us & giving us so favourable a voyage—but God I trust shall forgive us, we did not go to make an offering of thanksgiving—but rather went & amused ourselves—in the following manner—
1st We all set off to the post office for letters when we went ashoar, in the morning—well not a letter was there for a single soul on our ship—not even a note to advise the Capt how to act, or what house he was consigned to—we next spent a couple of hours in the reading rooms, & then we all set out to take a walk up the hill just over the town—we spent 2 or 3 hours rambling thro' those Barren mountains; had a good view of the Bay & town I Counted 120 vessels in port & I am sure there were 20 or 30 more—which would really make about 150 altogether—in some of the valleys there grew many choice shubs & flowers; a great variety of the myrtle, & splendid shrubs which would be very much prized at home growing wild, & in their hughest perfection too—the Capt, Mills, Mr Cadell & I went home about 3 oc I mean to ship & dined there—Webster, Hendren & Freeman went farther up the mountain—and they dined in Town—

After we had dinner we went & took a sleep during the time the hurricane was blowing—however I did not go sleep but was watching the vessels drifting off, We had Tea at 6 oc & about 7 the storm abated a little so we Went ashoar again & fell in with our 3 Companions at the Star Hotel, they had been enjoying themselves after dinner over a glass of grog among a room full of gents I may say principally Yankees,—We sat down joined them in a glass of grog too but it was not in this that the harm was but singing Commenced, I was called on for a song—did I refuse yes! I did but to no purpose I had been prevailed upon & gave way—Well this was not the worst of it; a Certain gent in the Company introduced recitations which were not of the most pleasing language; we all listened & I must say not to our credit but I knew myself in a strange place & thought best to say nothing, in fact all our Company had been disgusted at the language—uttered by the yankee; I trust that I shall never be induced to spend a sabbath in such a profane manner again—however; about 10 oc we left the Hotel & came off to the Ship in our own Boat & a Scotchman a Capt of a Chilian Brig, Came with us from the Hotel in our Boat he spent a couple of hours with us & then we sent our Boat to leave him on his own ship—he was one of the most ignorant & greatest Boors I ever saw; only he was in our vessel; he would get a good Trouncing; for richly he deserved a licking; from his very impertinent conversation; among Gentlemen—

108

MONDAY 4th FEB 1850

This day very fine, The Capt Freeman Webster & I got horses each & took a ride out the Santiago road went to 3 windmills which is about 8 or 9 miles from Valparaiso. We went into a sort of inn; to feed our horses & take some refresh-

ment to ourselves; We remained there about a couple of hours & then Dodged back again to town—as far as we went we saw no appearance of cultivations except in a valley here & there in patches might be seen a vinery or garden—but those were seldom seen—the Mills were corn mills, & worked by 2 or 3 German workmen—But I was told after had we gone some 8 miles farther on we would come to a magnificently rich Country—well coltivated but as far as those mills we could see nothing but Barren mountains, parched up with the sun—& from the ravines which were in the road when the rain comes it must fall in Torrents—the road Can scarcely be called a road—tho' this is the principal one lading to their Citidal, which is some 90 miles from Valparaiso—the only tree I see that appears to grow, is our Common poplar Salley, but it does not come to the same degree of growth that it does in Ireland—it is wonderful how our little ponies Could gallop up those hills with us, we met several Teem of oxen in a waggon &cc 6 & 4 in them according to the size of the Load, & they are fastened by the head & must pull by the head, it is curious how they have them yolked they move but slowly in those waggons, but yet I am told they carry great Burthens the Country appears to be in much want of water this Season—We paid but 1 Dollar, each for our horses—We got into town about 5 oc, & went aboard, where I remained some of the others went back again to town—about 8 oc the mate of the Valliant, our French frind came and spent a couple of hours with our mate & I—some of the passingers of the Mary Mitchell, Came too & we spent a pleasant evening on Board the London—But I forgot to mention that Cap^t O'Neill & I Breakfasted on Board the Valliant with our friend the French Capt he is going out to Sanfransesco too—We arriverd in Valparaiso some 24 hours before him—

109

TUESDAY 5th

This day very warm but towards evening came on a little rough this I believe often occurs in Valparaiso—We all went ashoar after Breakfast, & walked about thro' the town for some 3 hours, We went round by the shoar, & clambered up the mountin till we came to a fortification of 4 large guns, no person in the guard room but 1 sentinel, who was making a pair of trowsers & a Woman & Boy helping him to sow too, his gun was hanging up on a peg—driven in the wall for that purpose—We then Came off to hail our Boat to the edge of the water—& while we were thus waiting we fell into conversation with 3 or 4 Chillian Girls who were washing at a well, but we could not understand what they said—some of the others after we had dinner went ashoar again but I remained on board as I was so much disgusted with Valparaiso --

110

WEDNESDAY 6th

This day very fine I had been so much sick of the town; & inhabitants I did not leave the ship the whole day & was better satisfied; for had I gone ashoar I might be induced to spend money which would be more use to me at Sanfransisco the Chillians are so exhorbitant in their Charges I thought they would not get much of my money—this is their hearvest, & well they are making of Cala-

fornia — Beef is the only cheap thing I see except fruit, which is in great abundance & may be had very moderate—Beef from 2^d to 3^d per lb; the fruit market is crowded with the choicest fruits, grapes, melons, figs nuts apples pears, Plumbs, The pine apple peaches; & lots of other fruits & vegetables which sell very Cheap indeed—

111

THURSDAY 7th

This day also very warm—We all took our farewell visit to Valparaiso this morning—the Came on board at 12 oc & makes arrangements for sailing in the evening—two of our steerage Passingers, Barley & Smithers forfeited this Passage, & went on Board the Mary Mitchell I am told they pay £20 for to git into the Cabin there—I think as they stood the hardships of the steerage of the London in such bad weather they were fools to pay so much in a strange vessel, & the food they had in the steerage of the London is equally as good as what they get in the Cabin of the vessel they go to—We got 11 passingers today for the steerage they pay £10 each—9 Chillians & 1 englishman & 1 Irishman from Dublin Called Fitzpatrik he had been in Calafornia & at the Gold mines he made something nice at it & Came to Winter in Valparaiso & is now going back again he gives a splendid account of Calafornia, really very flattering, two others of the Chillians had been there at the Mines before; one Came to spend the winter at home & the other Came for his wife; she is now with him; they also induce[d] their accompanying friends to go out with them. they speak very well of the Land of Gold & say the least even they earn per day is 1 ounce & some days they make *more* We got 3 sheep 3 Pigs 3 or 4 Dozen of fowl Potatoes vegetables frut & other fresh meats so we weghed anchor once more & at 3 oc we were sailing out of Valparaiso harbour, The Thompson of Augusta & two others left for Calafornia the same day. We had a very favourable wind which carried us out of sight of land in about 4 hours—towards evening the Woman & some of the Chilleans took sick—Macdonald our painter is left behind. Put 2 letters in Consuls office for Mr^s K & also sent a short note with the Mary Woods, she leaves on Saturday for LPool—

124

WEDNESDAY 20

Very warm; our Trades were somewhat better than the last few days; saw a few flying fish; some porpoise were seen today also; All passingers on Board are in a great fuss now about the Diggins; the accounts given of them by those 4 or 5 passingers that had been there before is surprising; they saw [say] a man is safer at the mines than in Sanfransisco for there if a man commits a depredation he is tried as in England, but a person who transgresses at the Mines is taken and strung up to a tree immediately, this is a means of preserving the Best of order the Chillian who has his wife on Board, tells me that in 23 days his Company had Coming to their share each 53 ounces; & there were 9 men in his gang this was surprising; to make 2¼ ozs per day & they by no means worked hard, the same man made 11 oz in one day—but this is not to be met with often—

126

FRIDAY, FEBR^y 22th 1850

. at 5 oc afternoon saw a Whale ship at some 4 miles distant cross our Boughs, this was the first vessel we saw since we left Valparaiso

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128

SUNDAY 24

Morning very fine rather cool; our Trades still Continue steady and we're sailing well. Our Darkie Cook Transgressed again, & a good hammering he got for so doing, richly he deserved it too he would not cook the Cabin Dinner; owing to some few words, between the steward & him; & when the Beef & Pork was to be dished he took them on the flesh fork & threw them into a Bucket, outside the Galley Door; then the steward had to wash them as well as he could for Dinner—next he would not give the pleumb pudding to the steward nor let him take it either, then the Capt not wishing to get himself into a passion sent the mate to take the pudding out of the coppers so he joined the mate with the flesh fork & threatened him, at last the Capt Came & he began to show feight with him so the Capt soon took the weapons of Defence from him and gave him a pretty fair Threshing during which he called both Capt & mate many names & used very abusive language then he was let off to go mind his work again & we went to finish our dinner & when we Came up on the poop the Darkee was marching back & forward on the main Deck, muttering to himself, & was heard at one time when in deep thinking mood to utter, now I thought of it a D - m - d good plan I shall have my "*revenge*" at the same time he was froathing at the mouth just like a mad dog; I never saw anything like it before in my life realley the white froth was scattered over his blue shirt & face, & would sometimes drop on the deck—I heard him at one time say; M^r Shadwell If you dont take care of yourself—By G— I will have revenge—he even kicked the fowl & pigs about that were on the deck, purposely to pick a quarrel with the Cap^t or mate the latter was looking on but he never heeded him so at last he jumped on the long boat, where some of the passingers were lying & sat him down beside them he got up soon & danced awhile, on it then lay down to take a sleep—when about 5 oc the sailors awoke him to get ready their Tea that he would not do, they took him down off the Long Boat & was going to Tie him to the wingless end & give him a good licking with a ropes' end—but then the Cap^t sent the mate with hadcuffs or as they are called Irons, & put them on his wrists & sent him to the Coal hole on Bread & water, he will not allow him into the galley any more now, as he agreed with one of his sailors to cook instead of the Darkee Now every person on the ship says With me that this is the very worst description of anything approaching a human being—for a human, Could not be possibly guilty of such down right Blasphemy & determined villany—I have not the slightest hesitation that, he would sink the ship or set her on fire If in his power, but he will be well watched, & he Is worth watching—If he were in an American ship I am told he would be thrown overboard,

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130

TUESDAY 26th

Our Trade Winds are very steady, not too warm a sun, such weather is really a Treat, The Darkie is Changed into the Long Boat: he is a dreadful character, he told the mate today, that he might not be at the trouble of putting the irons on him any more for that in a couple of days he expected to be taking his Breakfast in H - L — some of the men saw him conceal a razor in his shirt Breast the Capt had him examined & got it, & a prayer Book with him he said nothing —

132

THURSDAY 28th

Crossed the line before noon, as we were then 50 miles past it, exceeding hot today—It's rather strange that this day 3 months we crossed the line in the Atlantic Ocean, I gave the Sailors all a glass of rum — each; we had no shaving; in the afternoon we caught a Shark with much to do we got it on board, he gave me a slap of his tail & nearly knocked me on my back. I am told he is a small one being only about 2½ cwt weight; We had part of him served to Tea in the Cabin we all liked it well a good stake but rather dry—Mills, Hendren, Freeman & I got up at 6 oc & had a fine bath, by standing under a greating we fixed above our heads in a corner of the ship & drew salt water in buckets & let it over the greating it fell thro the holes and answered nicely as a shower bath it's very refreshing & cools us so nice—I made a glenn garry cap of white cloth its a good job—

133

FRIDAY 1st MARCH 1850

This month Came in beautiful in fact too much so; as I fear we are going to loose our Trades, a good number of small fish is seen; & 2 Albicore have been taken they are much like Bonneato; we suffer from the excessive heat, there is not so much attention paid to our comforts now as before We Came to Valparaiso; the Awning is not up over the poop as was at the line before, "It is now considered too much trouble", & we have many things to complain of, the Capt is I consider a narrow hearted grudging sort of person, as he is now showing; not that polite & attentive manner with him which he should have if he wished to make his passangers Comfortable; and every opportunity he has of speaking short to any of us he does not forget it—It is really painful for me to mention anything of this; but when we all feel ourselves treated the Same way its time then—that we should begin to show ourselves unanimous and as independant as he—since we left Valparaiso, there is fat American pork set on the table, I'm sure its never touched by any person at table except an odd time by M^r Caddle or the mate; If any of us be a little indisposed & Cannot eat anything at table the Capt is not the person to say well M^r — you dont feel well today is there anything else I have you would like—but the way here is "*you may take it or leave it*"; I have often regretted since I came out that I did not bring Mrs K with me but now I am really glad I did not bring her into such a place as this ship—I could say more of our treatment, but I'll choose another time.

141

SATURDAY, 9

Our Trades Keep very steady we are averaging 8 Knotts per hour, a good chance for a quick passage; about 2 oc this morning I was forced to run out of Bed put my cloths on & go on Deck; to look for Joseph our Tom Cat—About 1 oc I was awoke by rats squeeling & running about in my room, at last one thought well to come into my bed which made me quit, I was about an hour on deck when I saw the cat, we both went into Bed, he in my arms for my protector against such intruders none of them however Came near me after—had some little lightning tonight too I am still working hard at the tent Mills helps me

149

SUNDAY 17 ST PATRICKS DAY

Morning & day very fine a good breeze & pretty cold. Most of us on Board Commemorated this anniversary of this festival; & tho we had not the real shamrock to drown; yet we imagined ourselves to have it, I cracked 2 Bottles of wine at Dinner to Drink to our absent friends & the Honour of the Day—the Capt Craked us 2 Bottles of Champaign, at night so, we kept up the spirits of the day—& drank the health Thre times three of our frinds in old Ireland, knowing they will be doing same to our memory—I gave the sailors $\frac{1}{2}$ Gal Rum—every thing pas^d of[f] very quiet—

Up to this we have averaged 5 knots per day from Valprso

154

FRIDAY 22

Almost becalmed, very little to say, day fine, the Capt is now getting the ship nicely painted; first the outside, & now the masts, Bulworks & riggings the sailers are indeed always kept busy; people on land think sailors have nothing to do in good weather like this but this is the time they are kept most busy, the Sailmaker always when weather permits, on the lea side of the poop with one or two of the Sailors, helping him to sew, up old sails & make new ones, repairs &^{cc} is attended to with the greatest economy, the others whose watch it is to be on deck are never one moment idle either, when they are not spinning ropes they are stowing lumber away, clensing the ship, putting things to right, painting &cc, every morning at 6 oc they must be at, work, & the first job every morning is to draw water from alongside the Ship, or by the aid of the Pump, & wash first the Poop then wash & scrub the main Deck; this occupies; the watch then on deck; till about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 which is their Breakfast hour; & in the evening they quit work at 6, the Poop & main decks are swept with a Broom quite clean, & whatever work the men are at is left Carefully past until the next day, it is pleasant as well as healthy to see things Kept so clean on Board a ship; then the Carpenter is never idle either; & works like the rest of the sailors during his watch, when he is not doing little jobs of repairs to the ship he is perhaps corking the decks anew; making new oars, handspikes, Tubs Buckets; &^{cc} he has also made a house about 12 ft square which is placed on the main deck

& 4 passingers are in it at present, indeed it would be almost impossible for me to describe the various ways in which the Sailors are employed here; what is meant by the watch on deck is, that One half of the men; under the Superintendence of mate, take it in turns, every 4 hours with the other half under the Superintendence of the 2nd & 3rd mate, when one watch is on dick the other watch is in bed or off duty; the mate is a very hard working man, he is seldome or ever idle, he has to weigh out all the provisions to the passingers, in addition to calulating the ships Log, &cc, & when his watch is on deck in the mongs, he has his shoes off his trowsers turned up & works away at cleansing & washing the decks, he is a first rate sea man, had at one time been Capt of a ship & entered into partnership with some other person with £3,000 of his own in hard Cash, & when he was at sea in a voyage his partner shut the door & poor M^r Shadwell, was left minus his money &cc, I dont know how it is he is so long mate with this Capt (I think he is 3 years with him) for he does not treat him as well as he should, we often pity the poor mate when we see him get his little thin slice of ham &cc put on a plate & haded to him by the Capt, as if he was a child & never does he ask him would he take any more nor does the other ever ask more; this is really bad treatment for a hard working man, & one who does I may say the duty of mate, 2nd & 3rd mate, steward, Capt common sailor, & in fact stops at nothing; & well qualified to hold any situation in a ship, the 2nd mate is the Capts younger Brother, the 3rd mate his first Cousin & I may say neither of them are much service to the mate—But interest goes far; the Capt treats his Brother & Cousin more like servants (wich speaking officially they are) than near of Kin; they say they will go off at Sanfransisco as most of the sailors intend doing if so the Cap & the Ship will indeed be in a lurch; We are this day only 568 miles from the Land of Gold. Tonight the moon shines brightly but we have little wind—

SATURDAY 23

. . . . M^r Caddel spoke to M^r Freeman, about his annoying the passingers so, much, at practicing his Cornopeon; he was very angry, tho M^r C, spoke [spoke] in as gentle a manner as possible; in fact we had all been much annoyed by him when he would go practice on that instrument we Could not suffer it any longer, tho many a good hint he got about it before this, I had been so much disgusted at it that I almost hagt the Sight of the Cornet, when I found it annoyed the passingers I declined playing mine; his bad temper let him to Kick up a row in the Cabin about some powder he gave to the Steward to Keep for him & says the Steward Kept one of the cases; notwithstanding all of us strove to Convince him that he fired it away at birds, what silly man—

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SUNDAY 24th MARCH 1850

. . . . we are indeed drawing near the end of our voyage & a long wearisome one it had been; what could induce one to undergoe such another; in a ship like this; we have no fault to the sailing, for she sails well, but fault is to be fund of the treatment we got for our £60, some of my fellow cabin Passingers intend claiming back part of the Passage money; on account of such treatm^t, but I fear

it will be useless; However I would strong recommend any of my acquaintances; intending to Undertake such a long voyage, to have a regular Bill of fare; from the Charterer of the ship; we were all too silly with respect to this, not thinking but as Cabin passingers; we would have abundance of fresh & preserved meats; after paying so much passage money; However many of us have learned a lesson that will be of service to us; and the poor Steerage passingers were treated, If I may so say like dogs the height of disrespect shown them by both Capt and sailors; I am sorry to say this of my Countrymen, for both Capt & greater part of the crew are Irish; many times have I witnessed them, throw the Beef overboard; that was weighed out for their Dinner; & so qui[e]t were they that they never Complained to the Capt of it, tho he Knew it very well; yet I often told them they should represent the thing to him offically & insist on having meat they could eat, instead of the rotten Beef—

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WEDNESDAY 27th

Very foggy all day & heavy sea; & high winds; for the first time since we left Valparaiso we had to reef Top Sails; towards night unreefed wind setteled somewhat, & fog quite cleared away the moon shines, Beautiful; we expect to be at an anchor Tomorrow by 3 oc; at noon we were only 125 miles from Sanfransisco Made land tonight at 11 oc, we had to lie off, as we knew not the enterance to the Bay,

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THURSDAY 28th

Very fine morning, sun clear, but little wind, the land is quite visable, but its some 30 miles off, & between us and the main land are 5 of [or] 6 Rocks, Huge masses; about 3 oc we got a Breeze and we pass between two of them for the main land; we spoke the Isabella of Sanfransisco, a Brig, she says the news is good, she is loaded with Passingers, bound for Dalagado Bay about 90 miles North of Sanfransisco—they left the latter place; probably there is new Diggins there, they say there is good news plenty of Gold we were moping about thus looking for the enterence to the Bay and about 7 oC aboat which we took for a pilate Boat; (but afterwards turned out to be a fishing schooner,) directed us to the enterance; and we were then about 25 miles off it we reached it at 1 oc in the morning then Cast Anchor for the night in 15 Fathom of Water, it was fortunate However that the moon shone so bright; it appeares that the point we were heading to as the enterence in the morning (& inDeed till we spoke the fishing Boat,) was about 30 miles North of the enterence to the Bay of Sanfrancisco, What quantities of Large Whales were leaping all round us I never saw any yet as large—

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FRIDAY 29. GOOD FRIDAY.

This will in all probability be a memorable day to the passingers of the London & thier children too, and I trust it shall be good to us bring us good News from Home as well as from the land of Gold—Morning very fine; weighed Anchor at 6 oC and on the track to Sanfransisco; the width of the enterance is

about 2 miles wide & the town of Sanfrancisco lies only 6 miles off it, the Pilate came aboard about 9 oc the Capt will have to give 8 dollars a foot, which will be about £25 Pilate dues for bringing her a few miles & supposing he would take no pilate he would be forced to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ that sum, there are but 7 all together and only 3 months established by the Government he [the pilot] gives a very flattering acct from the land of Gold even surpasses our expectations he says there are about 700 vessels in the Bay of San fransisco and & about 300 more between that & Sacramento City—the inhabitants is estimated to about 60,000, about 2 oc we came to an anchor, in the Bay about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Shoar I was surprised at seeing so many vessels, and what a size the City is which some 12 months past, contained only a few Rudely constructed huts, the town is much situated like Valparaiso, part of it running along the vally or shoar and a considerable portion of it up the side of two large hills, all the little tents pitched about the town would surprise a person it is certainly a situation for a magnificent City which I make no doubt in a very few years will be. We all gone ashoar, for our letters I went to M^r Starkeys and had two from M^{rs} Kerr, further comment on this is useless but suffice to say, I embraced them with joy unspeakable, M^r S. told me that my friend D^r Baird had just arrived a few days ago by the Steam Boat from Panama, he could not tell where he stopped so I went hunting thro the town Could not get any tidings of him this day. What miserable streets a person would bog up near their knees in some of them, they are laid out well but require to be Macadamized, there are some very fine houses principally wood, I see some 6 or 7 story high; the news from the mines are most favourable all & every body that Can flock up there, We arrived here in a good time for about 3 weeks past the rainy season was over,

[TO BE CONTINUED]

SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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CHAPTER VI

THE VOYAGE OF ALVARO DE MENDAÑA

The success attending the Legaspi expedition was sufficient to stimulate the hopes of adventurers in another part of the world. This time an expedition set out from Peru in search of new lands to the west; at least such was the ostensible object. Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa asserted that he knew of some in that direction or southwest, which he must have represented to be very rich, as the *presidente* of Peru was induced to favor the enterprise. Two ships were prepared, and Alvaro de Mendaña, the *presidente's* nephew, was appointed to command them. Sarmiento himself was made *almirante*, and Hernan Gallego chief pilot. November 17, 1567, the ships sailed from Callao and in the following February reached one of the islands now known as the Solomon group. Sarmiento afterwards claimed that Mendaña and Gallego wished to go to the Moluccas, and indeed that seems not unlikely. The only other land to the west of Peru of which Sarmiento could have had any knowledge was New Guinea, and although that was said to be rich in gold, it was not nearly so rich as the world had been given to understand the Philippines were in the pamphlet translated in the Appendix to the previous chapter. Sailing south, they discovered a number of other islands, but found nothing in them of any value. The inhabitants were not overly friendly and soon became positively hostile. It was therefore decided to return to Peru. A council being called to consider what route should be taken, some were of the opinion that they should sail towards the south, but it was finally agreed to return by the north, and August 11 they set sail. A course to the north and northeast was taken, and October 16 the ships had reached a latitude stated to be 30° 20'. Here the *Almiranta* which Sarmiento commanded disappeared. The pilots of the *Capitana* calculated the ship to be about 80 leagues from the coast, while those of the *Almiranta* thought they were much nearer, Cabo de Fortunas lying to the northeast. A severe storm ensued, during which the *Capitana* nearly capsized, obliging Mendaña to order the mainmast cut away. All the sails were carried away by the wind and they had to replace them with blankets. October 31, they were in 29°. Here a northeast storm struck them and they fell down to 26° on November 4. The wind changing to the east, they took a north-northeast course with which they went up to 27°. Everything indicates that all this time they were endeavoring to get as far northeast as possible. They finally managed to reach 30°, where they had another cold northeast wind with snow. December 9 the wind shifted to the south-southwest, and on reaching 31°, December 12, a pine log was seen, some gulls, a duck and other signs of being near land.¹ The following is taken from Gallego's account:

"On the 12th of December the wind died down in the south-southwest, and shifted to the north so lightly that the sails hardly left the mast; for we were sheltered by the land, which lay to the north, although we were not in the altitude of it. Rain fell, and with some bed-sheets that they had, the soldiers and sailors were able to collect water enough for three days. And, as the weather cleared up, the wind became fresher; and, although we made but little way on account of the few sails that we had, and the many currents, yet the more we went forward the more the wind and the swell of the sea rose. But I saw that if we went on we should be near land, since we began to see signs of it.

"The wind lasted till we saw land. On the eve of Nuestra Señora de la O, as I was standing at the side of the vessel, I saw the land;² and there were some who despaired of seeing it, and said that it could not be so. However, sailing all that night, two hours before dawn, we were one league from it, near to two small islands, which were a league from the main land, in the altitude of 30 degrees north of the Equinoctial.³ The day before we saw the land we had fixed the needle towards the north, going on our course northwest-southeast; and we entered into a bay,⁴ not without great thankfulness for the mercy of God, who had preserved us through so many storms and privations of food, and when the soldiers never thought to see [the land] again. The bay looked like a corral for branding cattle. We could not see the outside point of it on account of the great distance, and because the coast ran northwest-southeast. We found ourselves shut in, and to double the point it was necessary to put her head to the westward. We anchored in five fathoms, at the foot of a beach of sand, and from thence we went out tacking to double the point, almost where we had entered. We were three days in this bay, with calms and northwest winds; and we gave it the name of "La Bahía de S. Thomé," because we entered it on the day of Saint Thomas. It is in the altitude of 27 degrees and 15 minutes.⁵

"We passed the headland in the morning of Thursday, the 23d of December.⁶ There are at the point of this bay two large islands. They have very good channels: they call them the islands of Cacones;⁷ and the bay has a good bottom. The larger island is to windward. It is 2 leagues northwest of the point, and the other, which is near the point, is half a league north and south from it. There are shoals on the southeast of the island, which extend 2 leagues further. We went along the coast northwest-southeast, till we arrived at the other point.⁸ Although on our way we found many signs that made us think that it was California, yet we were not satisfied that it was the point of California, which should have been in the Tropic, where there is the port of San Lucar, which is the point of California in the Tropic, being certain that we were 23 degrees 36 minutes.⁹ Before arriving at the point of California, there is a point of sand stretching northwest-southeast, which is northeast-southwest.

"And on the southeast there is a river of sweet water, very large and full of fish.¹⁰ It is in the altitude of 23 degrees and 20 minutes north of the Equinoctial. It was the New Year of 1569 when we arrived near this river, 6 leagues

to the east of it. We were on the beach between them twelve days.¹¹ We went on a raft of casks to take water, because we had no boat, the sea having carried it away. We made another raft of reeds and empty casks, and we took twelve barrels of water which we put into the vessel, with much fish that we caught.

"We went from thence on our voyage, because there were some warlike Indians, and we put on board much wood which we had cut down to make a boat for the ship. We arrived near the port of Xalosco; and, as we were going to enter it, the wind came very strong, and because we might be lost, there being a cross sea, and because the port of Santiago was but 50 leagues from thence, I put out to sea to double Cape Corrientes, which is in 21 degrees. Pursuing our course to the southeast, at the end of three days and a half, on the 24th of January,¹² we entered the port of Santiago, where we found some fishermen, and I knew the land and the people in it, and the fishermen who were there very well. This port is near that of the Natividad, 6 leagues distant, and 18 leagues from the village of Colima. This port is in the altitude of $19\frac{1}{4}$ degrees. There we threw out the wood that we had taken to make our boat."¹⁴

When the *Capitana* entered Santiago, Ladrillero, who had come there to fish, met them in a boat.¹³ He recognized Gallego, although he had not seen him for thirty years. Two days later the *Almiranta* entered, also dismasted. Owing to the length of the voyage, a large number of men had died of scurvy. The ships did not finally reach Peru until months later.

No landfall of any made by a vessel on the northwest coast is more difficult to identify than that in 30° just related, as there are absolutely no topographical descriptions of the islands or the coast on which to rely. At the Cabo de San Lucas, Gallego's observation of latitude was $45'$ too high, while at the Rio San José it was only some $17'$. San Geronimo is in $29^{\circ} 48'$ and if there were two islands there, it might be assumed that they were the Islas de la O. In such a case, the error in observation would have been only 12 minutes, and we should be obliged to identify the anchorage in $27^{\circ} 15'$ as somewhere inside of Cedros, in which case the error in observation would be 1 degree too low, quite out of the question. If the first two islands discovered be taken as having been the San Benitos in about $28^{\circ} 18'$, the error would be about 1 degree 40 minutes, and as Catoira states there were three islands, this identification would appear plausible. On the other hand, Gallego states that the islands were only a league from the mainland, whereas the San Benitos are nearly fifteen miles from Cedros. We are tempted to identify the bay which looked like a corral as Table Head Cove in $27^{\circ} 11'$. In this case, the headland doubled on the 23rd would have been Punta Asuncion in $27^{\circ} 7'$, and the two islands San Roque and Asuncion. It is of course possible that the *Capitana* in some way got into the Puerto de San Bartolomé, and that the two islands were Natividad and Cedros, but as the entrance of the port is in $27^{\circ} 40'$, Gallego's observations would have been $25'$ too low, something wholly improbable. The error, which is noted in his observations farther south, would indicate that this bay was in about

26° 45', corresponding roughly to the position of Punta Abreojos. There are, however, no islands near that point. The difficulty in making positive identifications probably arises from the fact that Gallego could not locate any of these islands on his chart. His reference to the Cacones indicates that he had one similar to that of Domingo del Castillo, on which those islands were placed just north of Cedros and in about 27½°. Castillo's latitudes, however, were about 1 degree too low and as Gallego's observations were undoubtedly too high, he was entirely at a loss to locate himself. Catoira speaks about the bay in which they anchored as being forty leagues across, a rather plain reference to the Bahia Sebastian Vizcaino. The *Capitana* was, however, in all probability much farther south. On the whole, the probabilities are that the first islands sighted were the San Benitos and sailing southeast from them the *Capitana* anchored in the Bahia San Pablo or the Bahia San Roque.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The extant accounts of Mendaña's voyage are quite numerous, although two are incomplete and two are so short as to be of no value. The most important documents are the accounts written by Hernan Gallego and Gomez Hernandez Catoira. Of the first there are three copies, one in the possession of Lord Amherst of Hackney, which seems to have belonged to Juan Bautista Muñoz, the second in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, and third in the British Museum. Catoira, whose very interesting account is also in the British Museum, was the purser of the *Capitana*. It differs in some important respects from that of Gallego. In the archives in Seville (just where is unknown to the writer) is a short account of the expedition, and another, a very long one, attributed to Mendaña himself, which, however, extends only to about the end of April, 1568. Both were published in P. & C., V, 210 *et seq.* and 221 *et seq.* from the collection of Muñoz' copies in the Real Sociedad de la Historia. There is another complete account but much abridged in the Ministerio de Marina, Madrid, and in the private library of the King of Spain, which was published in Madrid in 1876 by Justo Zaragoza in Vol. I of the *Historia del descubrimiento de las regiones Australes*. In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is another brief account of little value. All of the above were translated by Lord Amherst and published by the Hakluyt Society in 1901 as the *Discovery of the Solomon Islands by Alvaro de Mendaña in 1568*. Besides the above, there is another incomplete account ending before the return voyage was undertaken, written by Sarmiento, in 1-1-1/18, 10, 8, and a letter of his to the King dated March 4, 1572, from Cusco, in which he briefly refers to both the outward and return voyages, in 1-1-2/33.

The first published account known to the writer is found in the *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, by Dr. Christoval Suarez de Figueroa, Madrid, 1613, pp. 228-237. This seems to have been taken from Gallego's narrative.

NOTES

1. Catoira stated that they went as high as 32°.
2. Catoira: "We put back to seaward until daybreak and saw that there were three small islands near the mainland, and they were given the name of Las Islas de la O. They are in 30° North."
3. Catoira: "Running along the coast to 27° we put into a bay more than forty leagues across which was not on the chart. . . . It has some islands at the mouth and within. We anchored in seven fathoms, and as it was night and the land shut us in we did not know where we were."
4. In the text, there is an evident error in punctuation. There should be a period after north.
5. Catoira: "The pilot called it the Bahía de la Trinidad. . . . We were four days in this bay without being able to get out."
6. If this statement is correct, they must have sighted land on December 15, on the eve of the first day of the celebrations known as the "O's," as they certainly could not have sailed from 30° to 27° in less than three days, in the condition of the ship.
7. This name Cacones, or Caçones as it probably read in the original, is a plain enough indication that Gallego was using some chart which had been made up from Ulloa's discoveries, presumably, as stated in the text, one similar to that made by Domingo del Castillo. On his map there are two islands at the mouth of the bay (now known as Sebastian Vizcaino) and the name Punta or Puerto de Casones. No one knows what these two islands are supposed to represent on the map, certainly they were not intended for Cedros and Natividad, both of which are shown on the map farther east, a little to the south. The natural supposition is that they were intended for two of the Benitos which are approximately in that relative position, although not nearly so far away. As Ys. de Caçenes, those islands also appeared on the Cabot map of 1544, just north of Cedros, and just below the thirtieth parallel.
8. This indicates that this point of the bay was towards the south. Catoira stated that the bay was forty leagues, across, that is, from point to point. As Gallego does not describe this point, it is uncertain whether it was Cabo San Lazaro or Cabo San Lucas, but probably it was the latter.
9. Cabo San Lucas is in 22° 52'.
10. The San José; it is not southeast, but slightly northeast of the cape.
11. Catoira: "13 days."
12. Catoira: "January 23." The real date was probably January 22, as stated in Suarez de Figueroa's account."
13. From Catoira's narrative; the man was Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero, who was living in Colima at the time.
14. Copied from Gallego's account as printed in Lord Amherst's *Discovery of the Solomon Islands*, pages 75-77.
15. Sarmiento, in his letter from Cuzco, refers very briefly to the return voyage, simply stating that they sighted the coast of Cibola and Quivira in 30° odd. Many years later, in an account of the visit of Drake to the Peruvian coast in 1579, he claimed to have run along the coast from a cape he called Fortunas in 34°; *Docs. inéd. Esp.*, Vol. XCIV, translated in *Drake's Voyage around the World* by H. R. Wagner, 394. In view of the course taken by the *Capitana* it is not likely that Sarmiento sighted the coast much farther north than she did.

CHAPTER VII

JUAN DE LA ISLA AND FRANCISCO GALI

About this time there occurred a revival of interest in the Northwest Passage, which was apparently due to a new fable which soon attained great vogue. The Strait of Anian, as it was called, seems to have been created in some roundabout way from the writings of Marco Polo, but it was undoubtedly based on a mixture of other fables current for some time and the intense desire to find a short cut to the riches of the Far East. After Urdaneta had given his declaration regarding the best method of reaching the Philippines, in the Memorial translated in Chapter V, he added the following story:

In this New Spain information has been received that the French have discovered a passage into the sea west of this New Spain, between the land of the Bacallaos and that which runs from there toward the north, and that having entered this in a westerly direction at a latitude of 70° or more, and sailing towards the west on a slightly southwest course, they found a free sea through which they could easily sail to China, the spice country, Peru and New Spain, that is, to all those parts which can be navigated by the Sea of the West. On the return to France they followed the coast of the land of Florida on the north side, and found an outlet to the Sea of Spain and France in a lower latitude than that by which they had entered, as it was not more than 40° and odd, not reaching 50° where they disembogued. As Captain Pero Melendez has information about how this happened, according to the advices we have received here, and will give an account of it to Your Majesty, I shall say no more than that it is of great importance that an effort be made to discover from Spain if it be true, and that what is there should be seen.¹ If such a passage and a populated country be found, an endeavor should be made to make a settlement in the narrowest part of that strait, or in the place which seems most important, in order that the ships which have to pass from Spain to the west and from the west to Spain could make a stop there. From there also the entry of all foreigners who wish to navigate by that strait in order to pass into this Sea of the West, could be prevented.²

The first part of this story can hardly be anything but a variation of one afterwards related by Baltasar de Obregon.³ According to him, a certain Juan Juarez in 1550 was aboard a ship which sailed from Ireland with a cargo of skins and tin. The vessel left her course and sailed to the northwest and at the end of many days, in April entered a river of salt water seven leagues wide, and even five in the narrowest part. They ascended this river 200 leagues to where, the ship having grounded on some shoals, the crew went ashore and found a half a league distant another river of the same size, also of salt water. Here they built four brigantines, provided them with artillery and went up this river another 200 leagues, where one morning they found some great settlements of Indians who had a king who wore a crown of copper. The king treated them well until a quarrel arose. A fight ensued and the strangers returned to their boats and went back to their ship. They finally came out on the coast of the Bacallaos and then sailed for Spain. Before reaching there they were captured by the Portuguese, and the captain and the pilot, who were Frenchmen,⁴ were drowned, the rest being taken to Oporto. Juarez, Obregon stated, afterwards went to Mexico, where he related this story under oath to Luis de Velasco, the viceroy. It is probable that Juarez was simply repeating in garbled form some story he had heard in Spain or France, the origin of which is now lost, as the statement is false on its face. Urdaneta seems to have combined this with another story which apparently arose from some misconception of what Giovanni

da Verrazano had said about his expedition to the east coast of America in 1524, or had been fabricated from the maps which purported to show his discoveries.⁵

In 1558 Ramusio published in the third volume of his *Navigazioni* probably all the information he was able to gather about the Far East. Among other documents, he inserted an account of the travels of Marco Polo.⁶ This version differs in many respects from those previously published, and contains one passage, which so far as known, had never before appeared in print. After describing the Port of Zaitum, he says:

Departing from the Port of Zaitum you sail towards the west, somewhat southwest, 1,500 miles, traversing a gulf named Cheinan. This gulf is so long that it takes two months to cross it, sailing towards the northeast. Towards the southeast it washes the entire part of the province of Mangi and on the other side [that is, northwest?], Ania, Toloman and many other provinces which I have previously mentioned. Within this gulf there are an infinite number of islands, almost all well inhabited, in which is found a great quantity of gold of *paiola*,⁷ which they collect from the water of the sea where the rivers empty into it. Besides this, copper [or brass] and other things are found and commerce is carried on with what occurs in one island and not in another. They also trade with those on the mainland, selling gold, copper and other things and buying from them what things are necessary to them. In the majority of these islands much grain grows. This gulf is so large and so many people live in it that it seems like another world.

Somewhat earlier in the account, Polo gives a description of Amù and Toloman, which he there says lie east of India.⁸ Considering its connection with Toloman in both passages, it seems obvious that Ania was an error for Amù or vice versa. No mention of any strait in the neighborhood of Ania or Toloman occurs in the passage, and it might well be argued that these provinces did not lie northeast of Zaitum but northwest. Nevertheless, this somewhat ambiguous account was apparently sufficient, added to other stories in circulation in Europe at the time, to induce Giacomo Gastaldi, the noted Italian cartographer, to change the opinion he had propagated so sedulously for such a long time that Asia and America were connected, to one that they were separated by water. This new theory he advanced in a pamphlet published in Venice in 1562.⁹ The strait, which he now imagined separated Asia from America, he called the "Strait of Anian." The first dated map on which the strait appears was published in Antwerp in 1564 by Abraham Ortelius, but the earliest one now known to show it with the name was Bolognino Zaltieri's map of Nova Franza in 1566.¹⁰ On both these maps a short passage separating Labrador and Greenland is displayed, between 63° and 66° of North latitude, just where the entrance to the Northwest Passage had previously been supposed to exist. Both maps also show an immense open *Mare Setentrionale* which is connected on the west with the Pacific by the Strait of Anian. Both passages look easy to navigate, and the distance across the Northern Sea is only about 120° or perhaps 4,000 miles in that latitude. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that a revival of the attempts to reach the Far East by this route now took place. The new fable caught the popular fancy and fired the imagination.

Coincident with the appearance on the maps of the Strait of Anian was that of stories of passages through it. One of these was a now famous tale that Urdaneta on his return from the Philippines had come to Europe through the

passage. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was responsible for disseminating it, used it as his chief argument for the existence of a Northwest Passage.¹¹ Gilbert was so persuasive and his arguments seemed so convincing, that in 1576 the English sent out Martin Frobisher by this route on a trading expedition to the Far East, which of course never even reached the Northern Sea. Other Englishmen were more skeptical and in the following year financed an expedition to the Moluccas after spices, which was placed under the command of Sir Francis Drake, with instructions to proceed either by the Strait of Magellan or by the Cape of Good Hope. Drake reached the Moluccas, but his ship was already so full of captured silver that he brought back but few cloves. The way was opened, however, and succeeding expeditions finally achieved some measure of success, although this lay in India, a somewhat different goal from that first contemplated.

Not only were the English fascinated by the possibilities of this short cut to the East, but there is some evidence that the Spaniards also took some interest in the subject, as would have been only natural. They now had some new possessions in that part of the world and an easier access to them than by way of Mexico was a great desideratum. Among the companions of Urdaneta on his voyage to the Philippines was Captain Juan de la Isla,¹² the commander of the *San Juan*; and it is not at all unlikely that he had heard the story related by Urdaneta either directly from him or from someone in Mexico before he set out. July 27, 1567, he was sent back by Legaspi in command of the *San Juan* with dispatches for the King. He reached Acapulco November 16, and arrived in Spain June 5, 1568.¹³ While there, he seems to have presented a memorial, in which after giving his opinion on various subjects, he writes: "If Your Majesty be pleased, it would be of great importance to endeavor to discover the coast from China to New Spain in order to know what there is on the said coast, or if there is some strait or channel which unites with and joins the Atlantic. If Your Majesty be pleased to order the said discovery, I will put into it my person and zeal, and with the help of Our Father I will go through with it in a short time and at a very little cost. I entreat Your Majesty to give this matter your attention, as it is one of great importance."¹⁴

In 1570 Isla returned to the Philippines and was at once sent back with more dispatches. While in Mexico, he had a *Relacion de servicios* drawn up, December 14, 1570,¹⁵ and it is possible that at the same time he enlisted Martin Enriquez, the viceroy, in support of his scheme of discovery. He reached San Lucar April 17, and in July presented a petition to the Council of the Indies in which he asked for a *repartimiento* in the islands¹⁶ and the robe of the Order of Santiago. It is probable that at this time he renewed his offer to make a voyage to discover the coast of China and New Spain, and that the Council agreed to it, as when he left for New Spain he carried an order for 1,000 ducats as a reward for his services and for his expenditures.¹⁷ At the same time, a cedula was issued to Enriquez to appoint him captain of such an expedition which should proceed from the Philippines.¹⁸ In accordance with this order, Enriquez

issued a set of instructions to him, February 1, 1572, of which No. 3 is as follows: [Translation] "From the port which you leave you shall go in search of the coast of China and coast along it toward the east until you reach the latitude of 50°, or 60°, or more, whichever the summer season will permit; and from that latitude you will take a course straight east in search of the coast of New Spain, taking note of what there is between one land and the other, as well as what there is on the coast of New Spain, not only of what you may discover anew but of what has already been discovered to the latitude of 41°."¹⁹

An inspection of the document indicates that trading was one of the principal objects of the expedition. Nothing is said in it about any search for a strait, although it might be considered, and perhaps justly, that the order to proceed as far north as 50° or 60° contemplated the discovery of one which it was thought might be encountered in that quarter. The real object of the King and Enriquez was no doubt an exploration of the northwest coast.²⁰ Although the mention of 41° as the highest point discovered would indicate that the Viceroy was cognizant of the discoveries of Cabrillo, this being the highest point on the coast he had actually reached, yet the seeming ignorance of that voyage in Mexico only a few years later might also indicate that all he really knew about it was this fact. Urdaneta had also referred to the same latitude as evidently the highest point discovered, and he, of course, must have known all about Cabrillo's voyage as he was in Mexico when it took place.

Isla never made the contemplated voyage. When he reached Manila, May 31, 1572, Legaspi, who had been ordered to give him a ship and some men early in 1573, had some doubts about the matter, probably due to the lack of an appropriate vessel, as he wrote that one called the *Espiritu Santo* might be made ready at that time.²¹ August 21, 1572, Legaspi died and was succeeded by Guido de Lavezaris as provisional governor.²² He did not favor the venture and refused to furnish Isla with a ship, claiming that the voyage was a dangerous one and the coast was not known, and that some Portuguese or other people might be encountered. As Enriquez justly observed, all this might be true, "but nothing of importance can be done without some danger." He then made some sarcastic remarks about Lavezaris' intelligence.²³ When this letter was read in the Council, a notation was made to send Enriquez an order to make a contract with some person who might desire to make a voyage of discovery of the coast of China at his own expense, and that before the contract be executed it be sent to the Council. March 24, 1574, Enriquez wrote that the voyage of discovery had been abandoned, sending with the letter a note given him by one of the pilots of the islands, which does not appear in the records.²⁴ October 23 of the same year he referred to the King's order to make a contract for discovery of the coast of China, but said that he did not see anyone in Mexico willing to take on the business.²⁵ Nothing more has been discovered in the archives bearing on this project, and some time before July, 1576, Isla died.²⁶

It is plain from the accounts of the proceedings in the islands in the early days, that there was great disappointment over the failure to find an abundance

of precious metals and other articles of value. Legaspi found some gold ornaments among the natives, and 140 ounces of gold dust were obtained in exchange for silver *tostones*²⁷ at the rate of six of silver for one of gold. This gold-dust came from the north end of Mindanao where the natives washed out a little from the sands of a few streams²⁸. Later some gold veins were discovered on Luzon and other islands, but the mining industry never became an important one. No spices or drugs were found and only small quantities of cinnamon.²⁹ Food was none too plentiful and the natives were unfriendly or even hostile. Altogether, it cannot be said that the situation of the Spaniards was a happy one. Their long-felt aspirations were now realized and the Philippines were occupied, but they had not found in them anything of sufficient importance to make life worth living in such a far-off spot. The only exportable commodity of commercial importance found besides gold was wax. The possibility, however, of exchanging silver for Chinese goods, of which many were found in the islands, soon became apparent. The appetite for silver was just as strong among the Chinese then as now, and as neither the islands nor New Spain produced anything else of importance they wanted, the only possible trade which could be built up was one of exchange of silver from New Spain for Chinese goods, in other words, a transit trade. Compared with prices in Europe, silks, porcelains and other such objects of luxury were incredibly cheap in China, and it therefore soon became possible to take to New Spain such goods purchased with silver, sell them there at much lower prices than European goods, and still make a huge profit.

When the Spaniards reached the islands, they found the local trade in the hands of the Mohammedans, who were settled on Luzon, where Manila is now located. The Chinese supplied them with arms and powder in exchange for gold. The trade was unimportant, as the islands produced very little the Chinese wanted. It was not until after Legaspi captured this Mohammedan settlement and fixed his residence there that the Spaniards came in direct contact with the Chinese traders. In the spring of 1572 three junks came from China to Manila and some to the other islands, but brought only some samples, as the traders did not know what they could sell to the Spaniards. These consisted of embroidered damasks and taffetas of all colors, silk twisted and untwisted, crude silk, gilt and white porcelain, sugar, spices, oranges, sweets, rock-candy, pepper, flour, licorice, musk, and other perfumes, quicksilver, iron, copper, tin and brass, painted crockery and many trinkets and catchpennies.³⁰

In 1573 two ships left the islands and reached Acapulco in safety. They carried 3,184 ounces of gold, 312 quintals of cinnamon, 712 pieces of silk, 11 tons of wax, 22,300 pieces of gilt china and porcelain, and a quantity of cotton cloth and cotton thread.³¹ About one-third of the gold and nearly all the cinnamon belonged to the government. In addition, there was some jewelry made of gold and other materials for the King and an assortment of Chinese goods, earthenware, fans, parasols, inlaid chests, little boxes and all kinds of knick-knacks. When Enriquez, the viceroy, saw these goods he expressed his

indignation in no measured terms; he said the silks were miserable, the brocades false and none of the stuff was fit to enter the country. He wrote that he had heard that in return for all this worthless material the Chinese took away from the islands 40,000 ducats in gold and silver.³²

This was the real beginning of the Manila trade, as previously only a few small ships which carried a little gold, cinnamon and presents had returned from the islands. Even in 1574 the Chinese traders brought to Manila cargoes consisting chiefly of iron, wheat, barley, nuts and raisins,³³ but the trade very soon settled down to an exchange chiefly of luxuries, such as silks, damasks, china, and porcelain, for silver, and such it continued to be for centuries. For some time gold was an export of importance, and as time went on, the east-bound cargoes became more general in character, but Chinese goods still formed the bulk of them, in value at least. Of the products of the islands proper, wax and cinnamon were the only ones of any importance at first, but later large quantities of silk *mantas*, the familiar Philippine shawls, were sent to New Spain. Few details of the trade in the early days exist. Notwithstanding the disgust expressed by Enriquez with the character of the goods brought from the islands, which he continued to display even as late as 1580, as he was leaving for Peru, he himself states that he made every possible effort to encourage the merchants of Mexico to embark in the business.³⁴ He even went so far as to carry them and their goods to and from the islands free of charge, furnish them with food free, and admit their goods free of duty.³⁵ At first those merchants in Mexico who had the necessary capital were afraid of the business; the risk of loss both ways was tremendous, and there is little doubt that the quality of the first goods brought was very poor. It was soon found, however, that if a successful voyage could be made, profits up to 400 per cent. could be obtained on some of the goods, and therefore the business grew by leaps and bounds. During this period the production of silver in New Spain was increasing very rapidly, and it is likely that for a time what was sent to the islands was not noticed. As silver was the chief exportable product of Mexico, the mere exchange of this for silk and porcelain in limited quantities was not particularly harmful to the country, but by this means ever larger sums were diverted from Spain where they naturally would have gone to purchase Spanish commodities, or at least goods handled by Spanish merchants.

By 1585 the amount of silver shipped to the islands reached 400,000 pesos,³⁶ and a few years later nearly a million. These huge amounts, even larger than those shipped to Spain only a few years before, caused so many complaints in Madrid from the merchants that the Council evidently felt compelled to take some action, and recommended to the King, June 17, 1586, that a stop be put to the importation of Chinese goods into New Spain. Accordingly, two days later on the approval of Philip, a cedula was sent to the Viceroy to this effect, but giving him some discretion in the matter in case he should find too much difficulty in doing so.³⁷ The Marqués de Villamanrique, who was the viceroy at the time, wrote that there were so many objections to

the order that he refrained from executing it, claiming for one reason that the trade was absolutely essential to the well-being and maintenance of the islands.³⁸ He contented himself with raising the freight from the islands to the same rate as that between Seville and Vera Cruz, and issued an order that half of the silver sent out should be employed in the purchase of gold to be returned to the country.³⁹ Numerous efforts were made in the succeeding years of the century to stop the trade entirely,⁴⁰ but nothing was done except to put restrictions on it, which availed little, as means were always to be found to evade them, the enormous profits which accrued to some few individuals who had capital and influence being sufficient to practically nullify every effort made in Madrid to regulate it.⁴¹

Not only was this trade a necessity to the settlers in the islands, but what perhaps was of greater importance was the maintenance of a dependable means of communication between the islands and New Spain in order to secure recruits of men and munitions of war to enable them to carry on the warfare in which they were almost continuously engaged. In 1580 Portugal came under the rule of Philip II, and this put an end to their contests with the Portuguese in the Moluccas, but the Japanese soon threatened to overwhelm them. Almost every letter or memorial from the islands addressed to the viceroys or the King stressed the necessity of sending more troops, and more guns and artillery. It was difficult to secure recruits in New Spain, and the government was obliged to send soldiers from Spain itself by the long route to Vera Cruz and across the country to Acapulco. The difficulties were aggravated by the frequent loss of vessels in the Pacific. Several ships containing soldiers and supplies had been lost, and disastrous return voyages were of frequent occurrence. In 1568 the *San Pedro* was wrecked on Guam, one of the Ladrões; in 1572 two ships, and in 1574 the *San Juan*, were obliged to return to Manila; in 1574 the *Espiritu Santo* was six months on the voyage, losing eleven men;⁴² in 1578 the *San Juanillo* was lost; in 1580 a ship took seven months for the voyage, and February 29, 1584, the *Santa Maria de Jesus*⁴³ reached Acapulco dismasted, after a seven months' voyage, having lost her captain, master, pilot, and fifty-six sailors and passengers,⁴⁴ almost all from scurvy, that dread disease which attacked so many on these long voyages.

The *San Martin*, which had left Manila with the *Santa Maria de Jesus*, had arrived at Acapulco December 15, 1584. The Conde de Coruña, the viceroy, had died in June, 1583, leaving the Audiencia in charge of affairs until the appointment of Pedro Moya y Contreras, who was at that time archbishop, reached Mexico in September, 1584. It is apparent from several references to Philippine affairs, and especially to the navigation to and from the islands, in his letters even while Coruña was still viceroy, that Moya took some interest in the subject. The failure of the *Santa Maria de Jesus* to arrive with the *San Martin* caused some uneasiness in his mind, and January 22, 1585, he addressed the following letter to the King, probably thinking that the various communications to Enriquez about an expedition of discovery gave him sufficient warrant to take the action he contemplated:

When the ships come from China, they sight the coast of New Spain 700 leagues before reaching Acapulco, and from there sail almost in sight of land. Although it may be necessary to land to repair the ships, or to take on a supply of water or other things, they cannot do so as the ports on all that coast are not known, nor have they any place in which to take shelter from the contrary winds which ordinarily blow in that quarter. The same thing happens to ships which before reaching the coast encounter storms or have other necessities; they have to return to the islands from which they sailed, as there is no port on the coast. In order that all this may come to an end, and Your Majesty may have knowledge of all that coast which some say runs on to join the mainland of China, and others that it terminates in a strait called "Anian" which continues to and ends near Ireland, I have ordered two *fragatas* built to search for and discover all the ports, islands, rivers, mountains and settlements which there are or may be on all that coast, by what people of what languages it is inhabited and settled, what is their dress or mode of living, and what fruits and other useful things they have, taking the latitude of everything and finding out everything. For this purpose there is available a very good pilot and cosmographer.⁴⁵ As this business seems so important, I beg Your Majesty not to be displeased that it has been done without having consulted you, since, although some necessary soldiers are going who carry provisions for six or eight months, it will not all told cost I believe more than eight or ten thousand pesos. Besides what has been said, this voyage may have another result, namely that by this way and at less cost than by land it will be possible to communicate with and serve New Mexico while being settled, as, according to the account of Antonio de Espejo which I sent to Your Majesty in the *Flota*, it is understood to be very near the coast. All together, it is calculated to save souls with greater facility, which is the principal object of Your Majesty. Your Majesty will be duly advised of what may be done and what happens.⁴⁶

Three objects are set forth in this letter, one an exploration of the coast for the purpose of finding a port in which to relieve the ships, another a chance discovery of the Strait of Anian, and lastly the possibility of effecting a communication from the coast with the discoveries of Espejo.⁴⁷ In the second of these we see the idea of Isla revived, but the Viceroy put little stress on this, speaking of it as purely incidental. Espejo had advanced somewhat far to the west, but had not reached within a long distance of the Pacific. Francisco Dominguez had already made a map of these discoveries, and one would think that he should have had sufficient data to be able to make one that was not misleading.⁴⁸ It may be noted that nothing more was said about the particular part of New Spain which the returning galleons first sighted, than that it was about 700 leagues before reaching Acapulco. No evidence has yet been discovered by the writer that up to 1584 any such ship had seen the coast above 36°. It is frequently asserted that these ships were accustomed to travel along about the fortieth parallel until the coast of California was sighted; this, however, they seldom did even in later years, nor was there any reason for taking such a course. The first land sighted was usually the Isla de Cenizas, now known as San Martin, or the Isla de Cedros. What the ships actually did was to sail northeast from the islands until they reached a latitude seldom above 36°, and then take an east course until they encountered signs of land, where they usually also found a northwest wind which as a rule carried them to Acapulco in a short time. It would therefore seem that Cabrillo's Puerto de San Miguel (San Diego) was in a very appropriate situation, but either his narrative had been forgotten⁴⁹ or it was considered that a course from the islands reaching farther north would in the end require less time for the voyages.⁵⁰

Moya at once gave orders to build his two small vessels, but only a few days elapsed after writing this letter until Francisco Gali, who had reached

Acapulco from Macao December 17 in the *San Juan*, came to Mexico City. He undoubtedly at once presented the diary of his voyage and the map upon which he had marked down his position day by day. That diary is not at present to be found in the archives in Spain, although it may be considered certain that the Viceroy sent a copy of it there. It turned up later, however, in a strange place, and whether it had been captured by the Dutch, who at this time were especially active in their attacks on Spanish vessels, or obtained in Goa, can only be surmised. It was printed in a Dutch translation in 1595 in Amsterdam in Jan Huyghen Van Linschoten's *Itinerario*. As this was the first account of the return voyage published, except the brief one in the Barcelona pamphlet of 1566 previously translated, and, aside from that, the only one in print for a long time, it has achieved a degree of notoriety out of all proportion to its importance. Gali was a soldier, a prudent man, an excellent pilot and a noted cosmographer, and had served the Spanish King all his life.⁵¹ When he became connected with the Philippine navigation is not known; he may have piloted Ronquillo from Panama to Manila in 1580, or he may have gone out to Manila from Acapulco before 1582. His first appearance is in his own narrative, in which he states that he sailed from Acapulco for Manila March 10, 1582.⁵² He gives quite an extensive account of his voyage, especially of that through the islands.

In the following year at the end of June⁵³ the *San Juan Bautista* left Manila with the dispatches destined for New Spain. For some reason she took a different route from the customary one, and sailed to the north, but one can hardly avoid the suspicion that it was intended to go to Macao, as it seems that there were some Spaniards on board the vessel who had come from Peru and desired to return there, taking a cargo of goods to be sold in that country. At any rate, she reached Macao with the excuse that a contrary wind had been encountered shortly after leaving Manila. The authorities in Manila, having been informed of what was going on, sent the *factor*, Juan Bautista Roman, from Manila in March with Francisco Gali and Alonzo Gomez as pilot in a small vessel which reached Macao May 1, 1584. Roman demanded the surrender of the ship from the Portuguese authorities, but met with difficulties, as most of the Portuguese merchants there were interested in the proposed enterprise to Peru, and had already loaded on the ship a quantity of their goods. Roman finally secured the vessel, took her outside the port, executed the master and pilot, and then dispatched her for Acapulco under the command of Gali.⁵⁴ None of these facts is mentioned in his narrative by Gali, who gives the impression that he had been in command of the vessel since he left Acapulco. The following account of the voyage to Acapulco from Macao is reprinted from the translation of the document in the Portuguese archives as published by E. W. Dahlgren.⁵⁵

"I sailed from Macao July 29,⁵⁶ 1584, and when I had got outside the harbour, I steered towards SE. by E.⁵⁷ in order to pass the White Island

[Piedra Branca]. After I had passed this island, I steered SE. for 150 leagues in order to double the Pescadores Banks and the beginning of Loo-Choo,⁵⁸ which is called Formosa, and I did this in accordance with the advice and instruction of a pilot⁵⁹ from Chincheo [Chang-Chow]. These islands lie in about 22° ⁶⁰ and the depth of water is 30 fathoms; and although I did not see the islands, I determined from the altitude of the sun and the soundings that I had doubled them.

"After passing the island of Formosa I sailed E. by N.,⁶¹ and in this direction I sailed 260 leagues. The pilot from Chincheo told me that these islands [Loo-Choo] are innumerable and that they have many good harbours; they are inhabited by people who have painted faces and bodies like the Bisayas people in the Philippines; they are dressed in the same way as those; and on the islands there is gold, and the natives travel to China and Japan in small vessels laden with gilded leather and gold-dust. He said that he knew this because he had been there nine times; which I believe because I had found him trustworthy in everything that he had told me. The easternmost and northernmost of these islands is situated in 29° .

"Beyond the Lequios Islands are situated the Japanese Islands which are 135⁶² leagues in length and the most easterly is situated at 32 degrees. In order to pass these islands I steered E. by N.⁶³ the mentioned 135⁶⁴ leagues, and, according to the information which the man from Chincheo gave, I should find after having travelled 700 leagues from here four islands not far from one another,⁶⁵ which he said he knew because he had seen in Japan some small, broad-shouldered men with big hair-rolls on their heads; the articles they brought with them to be sold were gold in powder and cotton stuff and salted fish like tunny; and they said that they came from some islands situated to the east of Japan. From his account I understood that they were situated in a certain rhumb; he called them Armenicão,⁶⁶ and I found them not far from the place which the Chinese pilot had indicated.⁶⁷ He also assured me that in all the Japanese islands there are good harbours, and that the country is very rich in all sorts of commodities, that the people are very intelligent, and that they have a great deal of silver, which they take out of the great mines that are to be found there.

"After sailing in the said direction E. by N.,⁶⁸ and having covered 300 leagues eastward from Japan, I came across a heavy swell, which came from N. and NW., an extensive open ocean, which however did not stop our progress and which did not become calm or go down, whatever wind was blowing; and I found the same to be the case always until I had sailed more than 700 leagues. When I found myself at a distance of 200 leagues from the coast of New Spain, this sea ceased, which seemed to me to be a sign that it was the strait that goes between the mainland of New Spain and Asia Minor and Tartary.⁶⁹ During these 700 leagues I also saw a great number of whales, tunny, mackerel, and bonitos, fishes which usually haunt straits and currents, where they spawn; from which I concluded that it was a strait.⁷⁰

"When I steered so as to approach the coast of New Spain, I sighted it in $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.⁷¹ It is a high land, covered with trees and without snow. At a distance of 4 leagues from land I found great bunches of roots and leaves and canes and a number of seals, which made me believe that there must be many rivers and good harbours on the whole of this coast as far as the Port of Acapulco.

"From here I steered SE. by S. and SE. by E.,⁷² according as I found the wind, as far as Cape San Lucas, which lies at the mouth of the Gulf of California,⁷³ in 22° lat. and 50° ⁷⁴ [500 ?] leagues from Cape Mendocino. On this stretch of 500 leagues along the coast there are many islands, which, though small, would seem to possess many good harbours. They are the following: *Ilha de Santo Agostino* in $30\frac{3}{4}$ degrees, *Ilha de Cedros* in $28\frac{1}{4}$ degrees, the island and banks of *San Martin* in 23 degrees,⁷⁵ and all these lands are inhabited, and in my opinion good, as I saw fire by night and smoke by day.

"From Cape San Lucas to the opposite side south-east-wards from California I steered 80 leagues SE.⁷⁶ to Cape Corrientes, which lies in $19\frac{3}{4}$ degrees;⁷⁷ and on this part of the way I saw in the north, at a distance of one league, three islands which are called *Las Tres Marias*, situated in the same direction, 4 leagues from one another, and each of them was $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues [long?] Here I found a strong current towards the south-east⁷⁸ throughout the whole distance of 80 leagues from California.

"From Cape Corrientes I steered SE. by E.⁷⁹ 130 leagues to Acapulco; and after I had sailed 20 leagues in this direction I found myself in *Porto de Navidad*, and after another 8 leagues in *Porto de Santiago*, and finally after 6 leagues in *Praya de Colima*. And the whole of this coast as far as the harbour is inhabited by peaceful folk."

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Gali brought with him three Portuguese, a Chinese Christian, and some goods from Macao, on which the Viceroy remitted the duties. After the Viceroy had consulted him regarding his discovery scheme, he wrote the King as follows, May 8, 1585:

I discussed this discovery with him, as he is a man skilled in cosmography and the art of navigation. He was of the opinion that better results would be obtained by making the voyage from the Philippine Islands, reconnoitering the *Lequios*, others near by, and the Japanese Islands, and going from there up to the highest latitude possible so as to be able to reconnoiter the coast of New Spain down to the Port of Acapulco with greater extension and latitude. This Your Majesty will see by the instructions given him, as I selected him as the individual most qualified and accredited there is here, and who in this matter can compete with the most chosen ones in Spain. So I am confident that it will turn out to be of service to Your Majesty, and to the great benefit of this great new world and its commerce, as it is understood that this discovery will not cost as much as 15,000 pesos. The ship and the two launches which have to be made in the *Isla de Mindoro* will be worth almost as much and can be useful on other occasions. In order that this discovery may be more completely made, and that Your Majesty may secure the results which are expected of the labors of *Jayme Juan*,⁸⁰ I persuaded him to go in company with *Francisco Gali* and so he has gone.⁸¹

In this letter it will be noticed that Moya speaks in high terms of Gali, and evidently accepted the latter's opinion about the islands to the east of Japan. In both his letters, he makes it plain that he is not acting on any instructions from the home government, and, indeed, that government disapproved the

practice of spending money without authorization. Opposite the statement in his letter of January 22, apologizing for having taken the action without having consulted the King, there is a notation by the secretary of the Council of the Indies to advise the Viceroy that in the future he must go to no expense without having given previous account to His Majesty, unless the case should be so important that there would be danger in delay.

Among other persons consulted by the Viceroy in regard to this scheme were no doubt some of the passengers on the *San Martín*, and Fr. Andrés de Aguirre, who had just returned from Spain. The *Islas "Armenicão,"* referred to by Gali, figured largely for some time in Spanish exploration in the North Pacific, and we now learn from Fr. Andrés what seems to have been their origin.⁸² As his memorandum also possesses other points of interest, it is herewith translated in full. He addressed the Viceroy as follows:

Illustrious Sir: May the Holy Spirit ever dwell in the soul of Your Illustrious Lordship. The discovery that your Lordship orders to be made in order to understand the disposition of the coast, ports, and the qualities of the land and its people, that up to this time have been seen to the west of New Spain in the South Sea, as well as to continue the exploration of that coast and land from 41°⁸³ forward, is very important and necessary for the return of the ships from the Philippine Islands and all parts of the west, and to find out and know the disposition and quality of the land and its people and of the islands near that coast which are understood to be of great importance. Although the ships which come from the west each year to Acapulco sight that coast and travel more than 500 leagues⁸⁴ in sight of it, it is not known up to this time what ports or places of shelter it has. It is very essential to know this so that the ships which come in need of a place to repair, after having sailed 2,000 leagues without stopping in any port, can stop for repair and the provision of their necessities. It is of no lesser importance to pursue the exploration of that coast beyond 41° in order to find out its secrets, because it is considered certain that it is continental with the coast of China, unless a narrow strait they call "Anian" divides them, which according to the notices, is in lat. 52°, the farthest discovery of the coast of China.⁸⁵ In that region and in that which lies between the islands of Japan and the farthest discovery on our coast there are very rich islands, thickly populated with a civilized people, according to Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta, who had a report from a Portuguese captain.

I saw and read this report while he and I were going to Spain to give an account to His Majesty of the success of the first journey that we made by his order, in which the Philippine Islands were discovered and settled, and the navigation to them and the return from them to New Spain was revealed. The father gave this story to His Majesty and I took a copy of it and kept it until leaving Spain in this *Flota*, the ship in which I came was lost and in it was lost the report and all it carried, and what His Majesty had granted and given me. That which the notice contained, in brief, is the following:

A Portuguese ship sailed from Malacca bound for the Japan Islands and loaded in Canton Chinese merchandise. Arriving in sight of Japan a west storm arose, so strong that the ship could not make those islands. She ran eight days before it with little sail without seeing land, the weather being very dark. The ninth day it cleared up and they caught sight of two large islands. They anchored in a good port at one of these, in which there was a large city inclosed by a strong stone wall. There were many large and medium-sized ships in the port. Soon after they arrived in port many well-dressed and well-mannered people went to the ship, displaying much friendliness to those on board. Learning that they were merchants, the lord of that island and city sent word to the captain that he and those of his people whom he wished might land without any misgiving that he might affront them; he even offered a good reception and told him he might bring a list of the goods he had in his ship as they would barter and trade to his satisfaction. The captain communicated this to his people and determined to send the clerk of the ship to the city with the list of the goods, and two traders, one a Portuguese and the other an Armenian who lived in Malacca. The lord of the land received them in his home, which was large and well built, and treated them with much liberality. Understanding by signs that the land was abundant and rich in silver and other things such as silk and cloth, the clerk and the Portuguese trader returned to the ship in order to bring the goods to a house they gave him for that purpose. The Armenian remained with the lord of the island, being treated with much hospitality, until the goods having been landed, and a great number of people coming with a great quantity of silver to barter, in a little more than thirty days they sold all their goods,

making a great and rich profit, so that they all became very rich and loaded their ship with silver. While they were in the islands they learned that the lord of the island was lord of the other one which was in sight four leagues away, and of others near them, all rich in silver and thickly populated. The people were white, well built, well mannered, and well dressed in silk and fine cotton clothes, and were affectionate and affable. The language is different from that of the Chinese and Japanese and easy to learn because in less than the forty days that the Portuguese were on that island they understood the natives. These islands abound in good food, rice which is the bread they use, fowls like ours in great plenty, tame ducks and many pigs, goats, buffaloes, deer and wild boars, various kinds of birds and fowls, various kinds of good fish, and a great abundance of fruit of different kinds. The climate of the island is very good and healthful. These islands are in 35° to 40°. The longitude from Japan to them could not be learned because of their having run before the storm and on account of the weather being dark, but they sailed from Japan to the east.⁸⁶ Having finished their barter they returned to Malacca, giving them the name "Islas de Armenio" on account of the Armenian trader who was very highly regarded among the people of the ship.⁸⁷

The Viceroy adopted Gali's suggestion, abandoned the construction of the two ships, and gave him the *San Juan Bautista* in which he had come, which drew little water and was said to be a good ship. He also gave him 10,000 pesos with which to fit her out in the islands, or else buy a new one if she was unfit for the voyage.⁸⁸ No copy of the instructions given him has been found, but no doubt they were similar to those Enriquez had given to Juan de la Isla. It afterwards transpired that he was strictly enjoined not to go to Macao. Alonso Gomez, who had come with him as pilot, returned with him. In company with the *San Martin*, and carrying between them some 200 soldiers, some with their families, the *San Juan* set sail from Acapulco March 25. Gali probably arrived in Manila before June 20, as on that day Santiago de Vera, the governor, wrote the Viceroy acknowledging the receipt of the order regarding him, and stating that he would comply although the *San Juan* was not serviceable; he would, however, see what the carpenters could do with her, and in any case would look for another vessel. Before the next summer, Gali was dead and Pedro de Unamuno, who had been nominated to succeed him in such an event, took charge of the exploration.⁸⁹

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The standard authority on Marco Polo is *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, by Sir Henry Yule, third edition revised by Henri Cordier, London, 1921, two volumes. The identification of places named by Polo presents unusual difficulties, largely owing to the different ways his names are spelled in different texts, so the scholars who have devoted their attention to this subject are not at all in accord. The translated passage from Ramusio is regarded by Cordier as an interpolation, as apparently it does not appear in any of the other texts. If Ramusio's description of the Gulf of Cheinan be taken literally, it is clear that Polo was describing some gulf which was certainly not southwest of Zaitum.

Most of the information regarding the movements of Isla has been obtained from his *Relacion de servicios*, 1-2-1/19, No. 4, and the notes which he added in his own handwriting at the end of his Memorial No. 5. In the *Relacion de servicios* he brought together copies of presumably all the various orders and instructions which had been issued to him at various times, down to the date of the *Informacion*, December 14, 1570. After that, it is necessary to rely on the volumes of cédulas covering the period, given in the notes. The most interesting things he wrote were his various memorials, all in 1-1-2/24. They are undated, but it is plain that all, except probably No. 1, were written on his second visit to Spain in 1571. Some of them are unsigned, but from internal evidence it is possible to determine that they were written by him. Only one has a title, but in order to distinguish the others a brief description of their contents is given herewith. Most of them are calendared incorrectly by Torres Lanzas in his *Catálogo* under the year 1568.

No. 1. [Memorial] Gives his views about the proper immigrants to the islands, and offers to make a discovery of the coast of China and New Spain, [1568 ?]. Two pages, signed, and one of notation of contents.

No. 2 [Memorial] Mentions his services, and requests the grant of an island in the Philippines and the Cross of Santiago, [1571]. Three pages, signed.

No. 3 [Memorial] Recommends individuals for preferment in the islands, and offers his services, [1571]. Three pages, signed.

No. 4 [Memorial] About the productions of the islands, [1571]. Two pages, signed.

No. 5. An account of the negotiations over the line of demarcation, and a chronological statement of the discoveries of the Portuguese in Brazil and of the Spaniards in the Philippines, [1571]. Nineteen pages, unsigned. This important document contains at the end some details of the movements of Isla down to his arrival in Spain in 1571. These differ in some respects from those found in other contemporary documents. Translated in B. & R. III.

Besides the above, there is in 1-1-1/23, R. 7, a *Relacion de las Islas del Poniente y del camino que a estas se hizo desde la Nueva España*, 7 pages, unsigned. It is endorsed, "by Juan de la Isla." In the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, there is another document very similar to this signed "Diego de

Artieda." It is quite impossible to decide from the internal evidence which of these men wrote it. Artieda evidently went out with Legaspi and intended to return on the *San Pedro* in 1568, but Legaspi insisted on his staying. He finally returned in 1569 and probably reached Spain in 1570. He again went to the Philippines in 1572. The document, whether written by Isla or Artieda, contains an interesting offer to conduct an expedition from the Philippines to discover China and the northwest coast, if provided with two ships of 250 tons each, eighty soldiers, and the necessary artillery and supplies. As Isla was afterwards entrusted with this work, it seems probable that he rather than Artieda wrote the memorial. The document was printed in *Col. docs.*, Second series, III, No. 40. A translation from the document in the Biblioteca Nacional with footnotes showing the variations from the one in the archives in Seville, was printed in B. & R. III.

Besides the above, there are numerous references to Isla in the correspondence of Martin Enriquez, the viceroy, in 58-3-8. The instructions which the Viceroy issued to him will be found in 1-1-2/24, 4, 8.

The material for the short sketch of the Manila trade in the sixteenth century will be found largely in the correspondence of the viceroys with the Crown, 58-3-8 to 58-3-13, in that of the governors and officials of the islands, 1-2-2/24, and in that of Archbishop Moya y Contreras, 60-4-1. Some valuable notices have also been obtained from W. E. Retana's notes to his edition of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de Filipinas*, Madrid, 1910, and Pastells' notes to his edition of the *Labor evangélica*, of Colin. A special file, 2-5-1/18, contains numerous letters from viceroys and copies of those addressed to them by the governors of the Philippines regarding the trade. Only such of the documents are given as are essential to give some idea of how the immense importance to the Philippines of this trade brought about the voyages of exploration to the northwest coast, as space does not permit a fuller treatment of this interesting subject.

Gali's narrative appeared in Linschoten's *Reysgheschrift* (dated 1595), forming the second part of his *Itinerario*. An English edition was published in 1598, the first Latin edition in 1599, and the first French edition in 1610. A version by Hakluyt appeared in 1600 in his *Principal Voyages and Navigations*. In preference to making a new translation of the original account or using the one published by Hakluyt, the Portuguese account in the archives of Lisbon, first published by E. W. Dahlgren in his *Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands*, Stockholm, 1916, has been selected. The principal reason for this choice is the probability, also felt by Dahlgren, that the Linschoten account had been edited by Dr. Paludanus, who assisted him in the preparation of the Dutch text. Many interpolations are indeed obvious in the latter text. At first it might be thought that the Portuguese account was simply a translation of that printed by Linschoten, but the finding in it of the name Armenicão, which does not occur in the Dutch version, negatives the idea. On the whole it

appears more likely that the Linschoten account was based on Gali's original narrative, as delivered to Moya y Contreras in Mexico, or written up by him from his log, and that the name Armenicão for the island was obtained later by him from Aguirre's letter, which he must have seen, and inserted in a copy which in some way came later into the hands of the Portuguese in Macao. Linschoten conveys the impression that he had obtained the account while living in Goa, the Portuguese capital of India, as a servant of the Archbishop, and the existence of the Portuguese text in Lisbon gives some weight to this view. In a preceding chapter, Linschoten gave a short account of the navigation from Macao to Acapulco, at the end of which it is stated that it was written in Macao in 1585. As Linschoten was never in Macao, he meant, no doubt, that he had obtained the information from someone who wrote from Macao in that year. Gali, who died immediately after reaching Manila, obviously did not leave the account there. Perhaps Unamuno had a copy of it, which was taken from him by the Portuguese authorities.

The letter of Aguirre and Paragraph 14 of Villamanrique's letter were published in Madrid in 1882 in Francisco Carrasco y Guisasola's *Documentos referentes al reconocimiento de las costas de las Californias desde el Cabo de San Lucas al de Mendocino*. From this they were evidently printed with a translation into English by George Butler Griffin in Los Angeles, in 1891, in Part I, Vol. II of the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California. Griffin in a footnote discussed the possible date of the letter, being of the opinion that it was addressed to Moya y Contreras while viceroy (as indeed is apparent), and therefore written between September 25, 1584, and October 18, 1585. Not having been acquainted with the other documents on the subject, he did not notice the allusion to the two ships, the building of which was abandoned before March 20, 1585. The writer has but little doubt, in view of the similarity of the opinions expressed in this memorandum to those in Moya's letter of January 22, 1585, that it was written about that time, perhaps at the request of the Viceroy, who wanted some backing for proceeding without instructions. The chroniclers of the Augustinian Order are so much in error regarding the movements of Aguirre at this period, when they mention them at all, that it is difficult to present a reliable itinerary of his movements, the documents available being few and contradictory. Letters of his are extant dated Mexico, February 13, 1583, printed in San Augustin's *Conquistas*; Manila, June 16, 1582, and May 20 and May 25, 1583. Torres Lanzas in his *Catálogo* calendars several documents of the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, of March, April, and May, 1584, which clearly show that Aguirre left Seville for New Spain before May 30, and therefore almost certainly in the *Flota* of that year. The explanation seems to be that his letters dated in Manila in 1583 are misdated for 1582, and a careful inspection of the last one in which he refers to the approaching departure for Spain of Fathers Pimentel and Manrique shows such to be the case. That he replaced Father Manrique in this mission, we know, so the change must have been made some time between May 25 and the date of the departure of the *San Martin*, June 18. This vessel reached Acapulco November 20, thus permitting him to be in Mexico in February,

1583, and allowing him sufficient time in Spain to transact his business and then make a visit to Rome before May, 1584.

CARTOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Not only did the Strait of Anian figure largely in the literature of the day, but in modern times the name seems to have had a peculiar fascination for students of early cartography. The idea prevails that the strait as it appeared on the maps of the sixteenth century was an intelligent anticipation of the one now known to separate Asia from America. Much speculation has been indulged in regarding its origin, but at present the opinion seems to be gradually gaining acceptance that Giacomo Gastaldi invented it. In a pamphlet on the life and writings of Gastaldi published in Turin in 1902 by Stefano Grande, page 80, occurs a quotation from Gastaldi's *La Universale descrizione del Mondo*. On account of the disappearance of the pamphlet it is necessary to rely on Grande's extract. In describing Asia, Gastaldi said it was bounded on the east by a strait called "Anian," and he then proceeded to mention the different known parts of the East which the meridian passing through the strait intersected. It seems to be generally believed that he drew his inspiration from the account of Polo published by Ramusio in 1558, through some misunderstanding of what Polo wrote. If, as has been assumed by some, Gastaldi's theory was not evolved purely from his imagination but was based on some course of reasoning from facts mentioned by Polo, the strait does not therefore become any the less imaginary, as he used his imagination in interpreting these facts.

If Gastaldi actually made a map in 1562, as seems probable, it is no longer to be found, notwithstanding the fact that Henri Vignaud in 1921 wrote a pamphlet entitled *Une ancienne carte inconnue de l'Amerique* in which he announced to the world that he thought he had found it. The map was then in the possession of Charles Chadenat, a Paris bookseller, and is now owned by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, who very kindly gave the writer permission to have it photographed. Since then another copy of it has been discovered in the Museo Civico Correr in Venice, and this has been reproduced in Volume II of Caraci's *Tabulae geographicae vetustiores*. The writer had previously reproduced in *Some Imaginary California Geography* the section showing the strait, from a photograph of Sir Leicester's map. The map is peculiar in being unfinished, that is to say, a section of America is left out which includes the west coast between about 16° and 25° N. The writer agrees with Vignaud that the map was drawn by Gastaldi, but Professor Caraci is unwilling to admit this because he thinks that such a careful and painstaking cartographer as Gastaldi would never have turned out an unfinished map. Like all maps of the day that were not mere copies of pre-existing ones, this was made up from different sources, and as was natural in such a large map, was engraved on different plates, perhaps by different engravers, with the result that when proofs were struck off they did not fit so as to make a complete map, and consequently it was never published, only a few of the original proofs remaining. In many

respects the map has a marked resemblance to one published in 1574 by Paolo Furlani.

Just what connection this map had with that entitled *Discoperto della Nova Franza* published by Bolognino Zaltieri in 1566 is uncertain. So far as is now known, the name "Strait of Anian" first appeared on this, for which reason, no doubt, Vignaud considered it to be posterior to the Harmsworth map, as on this the strait bears no name, nor does the name Anian appear on it at all. This reasoning does not seem conclusive, however, as the name might have been omitted through carelessness. On the whole, the questions as to who made the Harmsworth map and the date when it was drawn must remain in abeyance. The writer considers, as has been previously stated, that the map, at least the plate showing the strait, was the production of Gastaldi himself, largely because it is characterized by Gastaldi's peculiarities, and has a very curious resemblance to his *Carta Marina* first published in the Venice Ptolomy in 1548. The writer does not believe, however, that it was drawn by him in or about 1562 to illustrate the views set forth in his pamphlet, because the meridian passing through the strait on the map does not intersect the places named by him in the pamphlet, but runs about ten degrees farther to the east.

The writer has discussed in *Some Imaginary California Geography* the possibility that the Ortelius map of 1564, reproduced in Chapter IV, was taken in part from the one Gastaldi did make about 1562, as it shows evidences of Italian origin and conforms in some respects to Gastaldi's geographical ideas as set out at that time. A map of Gastaldi's published in 1569 is supposed by Caraci to be a second edition of his map of 1562. So far it has not been reproduced, as it has been discovered only recently, but from the limited description of it given by Caraci it seems to have been the prototype of Ortelius' map of 1564. On this map, Asia and America are separated by a rather large body of water. This was no new idea; even the Strait of Anian itself was no great innovation except in its narrowness. It was bound up with a conception of a vast northern sea which in itself was not new, but on the whole the combination of this vast northern sea with two short, narrow passages connecting it on the east and west with the Atlantic and Pacific was something new, in bold contrast to the conception of the Polar seas which had been propagated by Sebastian Münster in 1540 and later, views which were soon to be adopted in the great world chart of Gerard Mercator. These views, chiefly through the influence of Ortelius, came to overshadow those of the Italian school, and in time Münster's Strait of Bacallaos, adopted by Mercator and Ortelius, came to be generally known as the Strait of Anian.

Zaltieri's map is herewith reproduced from a photograph of the copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

The principal contribution of Gali to cartography was the addition of some imaginary islands in the north Pacific. While it is likely, as suggested by Dahlgren, that the famous island of the Armenian came from a story of the first visit of the Portuguese to Japan and consequently should have been known

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to the Portuguese themselves, none of the numerous Portuguese maps made in the sixteenth century examined by the writer shows it. In a letter of April 12, 1584, Francisco Dominguez wrote the King:

"I would have wished to send Your Royal Majesty some descriptions of a new country which is here called New Mexico which I made at the command of Conde de Coruña in order to know the truth about that country, together with the description of the navigations of China, New Guinea and the coasts of the South Seas, as I had drawn this with more certainty and clearness than up to the present has been done, but, all this seeming to me to be of little moment, I have abandoned it." In a later but undated petition, Dominguez states that the map had been sent to Spain, so it is likely that the coming of Gali or the zeal of the Viceroy induced the latter to order him to finish it. It seems never to have reached its destination, however, as the King afterwards complained that he had not received it. Richard Hakluyt (*Principal Voyages* III, 90) speaks of just such a map, saying that it had been intercepted. In 1625 Samuel Purchas in his *Pilgrims* IV, 1561, states that he had in his possession a map of New Mexico made in 1585, apparently the one to which Hakluyt referred. Some map of this character was certainly in the possession of Pedro de Unamuno, as while searching for the imaginary islands he specifically stated that he was following instructions, no doubt those given to Gali when he left Acapulco, and refers to maps which showed them. The circumstantial evidence is therefore fairly strong that Gali carried a map made by Dominguez. It evidently showed not only the *Islas del Armenio* but the *Rica de Oro* and the *Rica de Plata*. Dahlgren in his *Hawaiian Islands*, 77, states that the first printed maps on which *Rica de Oro* and *Rica de Plata* appeared were published by Guillaume Delisle in 1723 and 1724, although they had appeared much earlier on manuscript maps. There is much evidence that they were also on Spanish charts, none of which seems to have survived. The search for them was quite persistent, everyone seeming to have been misled by Gali's positive statement that he had seen them.

So little was said by Gali about the northwest coast that Dominguez could have added very little to what had been previously discovered. Gali made one important statement, however, that the distance from Cabo Mendocino to Cabo San Lucas was only 500 leagues, much less than it had usually been considered to be. Whether Dominguez acted on this suggestion and shortened the coast line by the process of changing its trend and making it run more nearly north is uncertain. At any rate, after Linschoten published Gali's narrative the map makers made much of this statement, especially those who did not subscribe to the distortions of this coast by Mercator and Ortelius.

NOTES

1. Pedro Menendez wrote in a letter from Havana, January 30, 1566, that Urdaneta had stopped there on his way back from China and had conferred with him about this strait. Menendez said that in the following winter he was going to send a captain to the Bahia de Santa Maria to investigate that arm of the sea to see if such a strait was to be found there. 54-3-19.

2. It is interesting to note that in this memorial there appears to be the origin of the story about Urdaneta returning to Spain by the Northwest Passage related by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his *Discourse for the Discoverie of a New Passage to Cataia*, London, 1576, which he said he had heard in 1568 in Ireland from a monk named Salvaterra. Gilbert's suggestion to make a settlement in the passage is exactly like Urdaneta's and seems to indicate that he had a copy of the memorial.

3. P. Mariano Cuevas' edition of his *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España*, Mexico, 1924, page 195.

4. This seems to prove that the vessel was French. Perhaps, after all, the story was nothing but one that had been current for a long time about some French vessel having gone through the passage into the Pacific.

5. Verrazano, a Florentine, made an exploration of the east coast of North America in 1524 under the French flag. There is nothing in the printed account of the voyage to account for this story, but there must have been some other, now unknown, from which a map was drawn by his brother Hieronymo in 1529, which shows North America divided into two parts in the neighborhood of 40° by an isthmus, so narrow, that it was said that the western ocean could be seen from the eastern side. Many maps appeared in the course of the century which displayed this peculiar form of North America. It is exemplified on Agnese's map of the world printed in the *Quarterly* for December, 1924.

6. Folio 51 of the edition of 1574.

7. *Paiola* seems to mean "straw," but the gold was no doubt gold-dust.

8. Folio 40.

9. *La Universale descrizione del Mondo*. The pamphlet which was in the royal library in Turin only a few years ago has unfortunately disappeared.

10. Gastaldi's views have been treated at length by the writer in *Some Imaginary California Geography*, a paper published in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1926, and sections of the maps of Ortelius, Zaltieri and Paolo Furlani were reproduced to illustrate the then current views concerning the Strait of Anian.

11. In his *Discourse*.

12. The probabilities are that Isla was a Portuguese. At this time he was about 34 years of age. It does not appear when he came to Mexico nor from what place, but he was employed in the construction of the fleet in Navidad and must have come, therefore, before 1560. He was married to a woman named Catarina Farfan de los Godos, of a family of some note in the country.

13. Letter of Lic. Alonso Muñoz of January, 1568, 58-5-8, and Isla's *Relacion de servicios* which contains Legaspi's instructions to him for his return voyage, dated July 7, 1567. He was simply ordered to follow the course taken by the *San Pedro*. Similar instructions were given him again by Legaspi, July 6, 1570.

14. No. 1 of his memorials. It is not quite certain that this was presented in 1568, but that Isla took up the matter at this time is indicated by a statement in San Augustin's *Conquista*, 221, that he had to return to Spain in 1570 to continue the pretensions he had already commenced.

15. 1-2-1/19, No. 4.

16. This was given him by Legaspi, November 16, 1571, but he never obtained the habit of the Order of Santiago.

17. 87-6-2, folio 314.

18. This can be seen in the preamble to the instructions Enriquez gave Isla.

19. Translated from the original in 1-1-2/24, R. 4, No. 8.

20. Enriquez was a particularly hard-headed individual, and it is not likely that he took much stock in stories of the strait at the north. The writer has read at least fifty of his letters and never found in one of them any allusion to such a strait. It was only a little later in 1579 that Enriquez examined Nuño da Silva, the Portuguese pilot whom Francis Drake put ashore at Guatulco. Silva had occasion to refer to Drake's boasts about going home through the Northwest Passage, and expressed disbelief in the existence of it. Sarmiento, however, the man who had accompanied Mendaña, was a great believer in it, and took Drake's boasts at their face value.

21. In his letter of August 11, 1572, 1-1-2/24, R. 23.

22. Lavezaris was a bookseller in Mexico when appointed treasurer of the Legaspi expedition. He had previously been to the islands with Villalobos. Although Enriquez had at first a very poor opinion of him, he afterwards acknowledged in one of his letters that he

had not done so badly in the islands after all. The *Catálogo* of Torres Lanzas is here followed in the spelling of his name, although in the writer's opinion, he himself spelt it Lavezares.

23. In his letter of December 5, 1573, 58-3-8.

24. 58-3-8.

25. *Ibid.*

26. His brother Rodrigo de Espinosa wrote the Viceroy from Manila, June 3, 1576, saying he had died, apparently about December 1, 1575, 67-6-34.

27. A silver piece of four *reales*. At this time the ratio in Europe was about ten of silver to one of gold, while in the East it ranged from four to six to one. The influx of silver from New Spain had a tendency to lower its exchange value measured in gold, but for a long time this remained much higher than in Europe. Quite a quantity of gold was obtained at these low rates and exported to Europe. In 1588 the profit on such a transaction was said to be from 30 to 40 per cent.

28. Some gold washings were also found in some of the other islands, but none of any importance.

29. Cinnamon, or *canela* as the Spaniards called it, was not then classed as a spice.

30. Legaspi's letter of August 11, 1572, 1-1-2/24, R. 23, quoted in Retana-Morga 384.

31. From *Las Nuevas quescriven de las Yslas del Poniente Hernando Riquel y otros*, a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. The text and translation were published in B. & R., Vol. III. Riquel wrote the letter from the Philippines before the ships sailed, and afterwards in Mexico a few notes were added about the cargo. The letter appears to have been printed in Seville in 1574. See Medina's *Bibliografía española de las Islas Filipinas*, No. 7.

32. Enriquez' letter of December 5, 1573. 58-3-8, printed in *Cartas de Indias*, No. LIV, and a translation in B. & R., Vol. III. See also his letter of January 9, 1574, 58-3-8, of which the paragraph relating to these matters is translated in B. & R. III, Note 75.

33. The anonymous account of July 16, 1574, 1-1-2/24, R. 28, quoted in Retana-Morga 387.

34. His letters of January 9, 1574, 58-3-8, printed in *Cartas de Indias*, No. LV; March 2, 1580, 58-3-9, and of January 29, 1581, 58-3-9.

35. Letter of Villamanrique of January 24, 1587, 2-5-1/18.

36. Letter of Santiago de Vera, June 25, 1586, 2-5-1/18.

37. 67-6-18, translations of the documents are printed in B. & R., Vol. VI.

38. November 16, 1586, 67-6-18.

39. See his letters of May 10, 1586, 58-3-9, and January 24 and April 20, 1587, 2-5-1/18.

40. The guild of merchants in Seville was very active in the matter.

41. There is a large number of documents regarding this subject in 2-5-1/18.

42. August 27, 1575, in Manila an investigation was made about the seaworthiness of two ships which had just arrived from Acapulco, in the course of which these facts and many others of great interest were set forth. *Recados para que los navios Santiago y San Juan salgan de Manila para Nueva España*, 1-1-2/24.

43. Nicknamed the "Mora."

44. Moya's letter of May 8, 1585, 60-4-1. The writer made a long but vain search in the archives for the detailed account of this voyage, as it appears likely from the circumstances that the northwest coast was sighted in a much higher latitude than usual. It seemed possible that Cabo Mendocino had been named on that occasion in honor of the Conde de Coruña, whose name was Suarez de Mendoza, and who had died as recently as June, 1583. The discovery, however, that Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa in his *Relacion* about Drake's visit to the Peruvian coast in 1579 used the name, makes this doubtful. As this document, however, is an account of his services on that occasion it may have been written much later, so until something more definite on the subject is known, the question must remain in abeyance.

45. It would be interesting to know who this was. Good pilots of the Pacific were scarce in those days; perhaps he referred to Gali, who had just arrived in the *San Juan*. If so, it would seem that he had known Gali when the latter was in New Spain in 1582.

46. Translated from the original, 60-4-1.

47. These discoveries made considerable stir in Old Mexico at this time. The Spaniards had been extending their prospecting for mines to the north ever since 1550 with some amazing results. By 1580 mines had been discovered even north of Santa Barbara in the state of Chihuahua. What more natural than that gold and silver would be found in the mountains in New Mexico? Espejo even claimed to have found some. From Moya's remark it is apparent that he had in mind an immediate settlement of the country, but for various reasons the matter was delayed about ten years.

48. Referred to in his letter of April 12, 1584, 58-6-9.

49. It is very curious that in the various allusions to previous voyages which occur in the correspondence of the viceroys from this period to the end of the century, no mention is made of Cabrillo's. The maps certainly showed the Puerto de San Miguel, as he called the bay now known as San Diego. They must also have shown other ports farther north, Baia de los Pinos, for example, but no mention of these occurs in any of the correspondence.

50. This opinion was advanced at this time and was probably correct, but the great loss of men in the higher latitudes from sickness ultimately decided the question in favor of the lower route.

51. Juan Bautista Roman's letter from Macao, June 22, 1584, 67-6-6.

52. Aside from this statement there is no record of any ship sailing from Acapulco to Manila in 1582 beyond one in a biographical notice in Retana-Morga that a Franciscan named Francisco de Montilla arrived at Manila that year, and another by Ronquillo in a letter of June 15, 67-6-6, that a ship reached there May 24.

53. Moya, letter of January 22, 1585, 60-4-1, says "the end of July," but June seems more likely, as stated by P. Alonso Sanchez, 68-1-37.

54. The above account of the troubles at Macao is derived from Santiago de Vera's letter of June 20, 1585, 67-6-6, that of Diego Ronquillo of April 5, 1584, 67-6-6, the *Relacion breve* of P. Alonso Sanchez, 68-1-37, and Roman's letter of June 22, 1584. Pastells in his edition of Colin, I, 169, calls the ship the *San Martin*, but he is in error; the *San Martin* was in Acapulco at the time.

55. The following notes show the most important variations of the Portuguese from the Dutch text.

56. Dutch—July 24, also Moya in his letter of January 22.

57. Dutch—SE & SE by E.

58. Dutch—Lequios.

59. Dutch—His name is given as Santy.

60. Dutch— $21\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$.

61. Dutch—E & E by N.

62. Dutch—130.

63. Dutch—E & E by N.

64. Dutch—130.

65. Dutch—At 70 leagues distance were some volcanoes, and 30 leagues beyond were four islands.

66. Dutch—Name not found.

67. Although he says he found them where he supposed them to be, the failure to describe them indicates plainly that he never saw them, especially since there are none there to be seen.

68. Dutch—E & E by N.

69. Dutch—Asia and Tartary.

70. This argument was frequently brought forward by navigators in those seas and was one of the stock ones advanced for there being such a strait in that quarter.

71. Although there is very little in the account from which we can draw any conclusion as to the accuracy of his observations, as this is really the only one which we can be certain he made himself, it is not likely that he was much in error. The description and latitude assigned fit the Santa Cruz mountains well enough. If his observation was too high, as seems possible and even likely, the description would also fit the mountains southeast of Monterey. In the French text this appeared as $57\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, causing a great deal of confusion later.

72. Dutch—SE, SE by S & SE by E.

73. Dutch—"beginning of the land called 'California' on the northwest side."

74. Dutch—500.

75. There is no island in this latitude nor in $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ as stated in the Dutch text. Bolaños had originally given the name San Martin to a small bay lying between Punta San Lazaro and the entrance to Bahia de la Magdalena. It might appear from Gali's statement that this name had been transferred to the island south of the entrance to the bay, now known as Santa Margarita, the southern point of which is in latitude $24^{\circ} 18'$, or that the land between the entrance to the bay and Punta de San Lazaro was then called an island.

76. Dutch—E-SE.

77. Dutch— $19^{\circ} 40'$.

78. Dutch—Westward.

79. Dutch—SE and sometimes SE by E.

80. Jayme Juan had arrived in New Spain in March, 1584, having spent seven months on the way, stopping at various points investigating the variation of the needle. He really accompanied Gali, and died in the islands of a fever, shortly after his arrival. (Letter of Vera, June 26, 1587, 67-6-18.)

81. Translated from the original in 60-4-1.

82. Dahlgren, *Hawaiian Islands*, 67 (the edition of Uppsala 1917), quotes an extract from the letter of Fr. Andrés and states that he considers the story to be an altered version of the report of the Portuguese Captain Diogo da Freitas of the first discovery of Japan by the Europeans. Dahlgren was of the opinion that all these islands were simply some of the Japanese islands. He apparently did not connect Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata with Gali's story. There is a somewhat extensive history of these fabulous islands, Vizcaino having actually made an expedition from New Spain in 1611 to hunt for them, as well as to make a visit to Japan.

83. For what it is worth, this is another indication that up to that time none of the Philippine ships had seen the coast above 41°, the farthest north of Cabrillo's discoveries.

84. The "500 leagues" seems to indicate that Fr. Andrés had been talking to Gali.

85. That is to say, on the maps. Fr. Andrés seemed to think that there had been an actual discovery there, not being aware of the fact that the strait was purely imaginary.

86. The last part of this sentence appears in Griffin's translation as the first part of the following sentence. This is incorrect, as it has nothing to do with what follows. All Fr. Andrés meant was that the islands were east of Japan.

87. Translated from a copy in 58-3-16. The letter was found in 1609 by Luis de Velasco, the Marqués de Salinas, while viceroy, among the papers of Archbishop Moya y Contreras and forwarded by him to Spain with a letter of October 21.

88. Villamanrique's letter of May 10, 1586, 58-3-9.

89. Letter of Santiago de Vera, June 26, 1587, 67-6-18. In this Vera writes that Gali died as soon as he reached the islands. B. & R. VI, 307.

CHAPTER X*

THE ANTECEDENTS OF SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO'S VOYAGE OF 1602

The failure of Cermeño to secure definite results was a great disappointment to the officials in Mexico. Although he stated in his account that he had made a careful inspection of the coast with the launch on his voyage south, the Viceroy came to the conclusion after questioning him and his pilots that he had simply crossed the bays from point to point, and that in reality he had seen very little of the coast, attributing this, quite justly, to the privations which the crew were suffering and the necessity of reaching some port in New Spain as quickly as possible, where food could be obtained.¹ It was felt that no satisfactory results could be secured by attempting to explore the coast with vessels from the Philippines loaded with goods; better success was looked for by sending them out empty from Acapulco. November 26, 1597, the Viceroy again broached the subject, in a letter to the King, expressing the opinion that the object sought by the Cermeño expedition was still of great importance. He recommended that another effort be made, this time from Acapulco with small vessels, and suggested that if agreeable to the King the exploration of the outer coast might be joined with a reconnaissance of the Gulf of California and the pearl fishery, but if this should not be thought advisable the task might be divided between two parties. For this work he declared that he considered one Sebastian Vizcaino entirely competent.²

The Council of the Indies, after hearing this letter read, recommended that an expedition be made with a single small ship from Acapulco and that the commander should not mix up in the affairs of the Gulf of California, except possibly in passing.

The affairs referred to were the attempts to open up the pearl fisheries on the east side of the peninsula, and incidently to explore the gulf, which had been in progress for some time. Although some small vessels must have crossed the gulf from the Sinaloa shore in search of pearls after the return of Cortés, little record remains of their proceedings.³ The issuance in 1573 by Phillip II of a new set of ordinances governing discoveries made it necessary thereafter to secure a license to prosecute such an enterprise. In 1583 Hernando de Sanctotis, one of the King's accountants in Mexico, obtained a license from the Audiencia, which was just then ruling the country, to construct a small vessel and a launch in Navidad for the purpose of carrying on trade to California. In the following year the viceroy, Moya y Contreras, evidently confirmed and amplified this license and extended it for a period of ten years, one of the conditions being that Sanctotis and his associates should pay to the Crown the twentieth part of the pearls found. All other persons were prohibited from embarking in the business within four leagues of them, once they had selected a place in which to carry on a fishery. The license carried a proviso that

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Sanctotis and his associates had to secure the approbation of the King within a period of three years. April 29, 1587, the King issued an order confirming the license, in which it was recited that the petitioners had already spent 15,000 ducats in preparation for the voyage.⁴

August 24, 1587, Thomas Cavendish, while on his raid on the west coast of Mexico, entered Navidad and burned two new ships of 200 tons burden each which were on the stocks under construction. It subsequently developed that one of these belonged to Antonio de Castillo,⁵ one of the partners of Sanctotis, who afterwards claimed in judicial proceedings that they had spent 40,000 pesos in the enterprise. Whether this disaster put an end to it is not known, but the company seems to have sent one or more expeditions to California either before or after this, as it was subsequently alleged that they found some pearls which they had not registered.⁶ After Luis de Velasco took up his duties as viceroy, he was evidently approached by a new set of promoters who wished to embark in the pearl fishing business. About June, 1592, Sebastian Vizcaino and several others presented a petition to him asking for a license for twenty years to resort freely to the ports on the gulf and enjoy the fishing of pearls and other things, during which time no other person was to be allowed to go to or traffic in such places, or fish north of Navidad.

This is the first appearance on the scene of Sebastian Vizcaino, a man destined to occupy the most prominent place in the exploration of the northwest coast during the ensuing twenty years. In all the numerous petitions and memorials presented by him at different times, nothing appears regarding his age or his early life. In his *Relacion de servicios* of 1603 one of the interrogatories put to his witnesses was whether they knew that in 1567 he had gone to Portugal to serve in the campaign with his arms and horses at his own expense, as being a *caballero de quantia hijodalgo y notoria calidad*.⁷ None of the witnesses knew anything about it, and it seems certain that he would have had documentary proof if he had gone in any other capacity than in the militia. If one can judge from the opinion the Council rendered on his petition, he filed no such documents, nor any others bearing on his life before his appearance in these schemes. It seems probable that he was born about the year 1550, the son of one Antonio Vizcaino, who either then or later lived in the town of Corcho in Spain. As one of his witnesses he produced Francisco de Bolaños, who testified that he had known him in Mexico about eighteen years, from which it appears that he had been in that city as early as 1585. Bolaños also testified that Vizcaino had gone out to the Philippines in 1586 and had come back in 1589. This statement is borne out by the letter Vizcaino wrote to his father June 20, 1590. He had just returned from Manila, that is, at the end of 1589, having evidently gone there in 1588, as he states that he was on board the *Santa Ana* when she was captured November 14, 1587, and had lost a great deal of treasure and commodities.⁸ It is apparent from his letter that he was a merchant, and indeed, in some of his memorials he so states, in addition to which we have the testimony of the Viceroy, Monterey, that he was one and neither a sailor nor a soldier. At the time we encounter him he

was married and had a boy named Juan, who, according to his statement in 1596, was then seven years old. From the curious story he told in his account of his voyage, about offering to put his boy in pawn for 2,000 *pesos* in Culiacan, which he said the boy's mother would pay, it seems probable that his wife had some property, and that he must have been married as early as 1588. On the whole, it is likely that he came to Mexico some time about 1585 with some little money with which he set himself up in the business of trading with the Philippines, making voyages there on his own account. His name indicates, of course, that he was a Basque himself or of a Basque family, and that he was not an *hidalgo*.

The first result of this petition was to bring on a lawsuit with Sanctotis. Vizcaino evidently had the support of the Viceroy, perhaps by reason of his more favorable proposition, perhaps because of his persuasive manner, or more probably by reason of the inability of Sanctotis and his partners to proceed with the enterprise. The suit went on for some time before the Audiencia, the main allegation of Sanctotis being that he was entitled to the contract because he had spent 40,000 pesos, and that of Vizcaino that he was making a better offer. Finally, July 9, 1593, the Audiencia in affirming a previous decision in favor of Vizcaino, tacked on a proviso that if Sanctotis should tender to Vizcaino the ships and supplies he had ready, the latter must receive them at an appraised price when his contract should be made. A contract was now drawn up which is embodied in a cedula issued by the Viceroy, November 16, 1593.⁹ Vizcaino and his partners were allowed four years for investigating the pearl fisheries, before or at the end of which they must select a district of ten leagues long on the coast of the peninsula where they could continue in the business for the following sixteen years without interference from any one. One-fifth of the pearls taken out and of any silver or gold acquired, no matter how, was to be paid to the King, and one-tenth of the fish caught was to be delivered to him free, salted and barreled at some designated port on the coast. Artillery, ammunition and other supplies, and a small vessel, if not necessary in Acapulco, were to be lent to him, and various other privileges were granted.

Sebastian Perez de Castillo was appointed by the Viceroy to command the expedition at the instance of the partners. They took over the material belonging to Sanctotis, and fitted out a ship called the *San Josef*, which departed probably early in 1594. What happened on this voyage is not known beyond the fact that the *San Josef* returned, as the captain was accused of an unnatural offense. He was brought back to Mexico City and criminal proceedings were instituted against him, during the course of which he died.¹⁰ The result of this abortive effort was to cool the ardor of the adventurers, most of whom wished to give up the enterprise, but a suit having been brought against them, the criminal judges who tried the case on appeal ordered them to comply with their contract. A lack of funds now became manifest, the different partners being unable or unwilling to put up more money. Vizcaino and the Viceroy were determined, however, to go on with the project and had most of the defaulters arrested.

Some accommodation must have been made of the differences, as on October 14, 1595, Velasco made a new contract with Vizcaino and his partners.¹¹ Very little change was made from the former one, in fact, none in the principal features. Vizcaino wanted the *San Bartolomé*, a Philippine ship belonging to the King, then in Acapulco, but his request for her was denied. He now began to raise a force, but before he had gone very far the Conde de Monterey, who had succeeded Velasco as viceroy, wrote the King that for leadership in an affair which might come to be of considerable importance, he considered that Vizcaino had insufficient character or property, and that if the soldiers were entrusted to such a man, whom he characterized as of little quality and of less resolution and capacity, they might mistreat the natives. Nevertheless, he said, in view of the fact that Vizcaino's concession had the force of a contract, to suspend the proceedings in the present state of the affair would be unjust, especially as he did not suffer from notorious defects which could give the King a proper excuse to cancel his contract.¹² Meanwhile, Vizcaino's partners had been called up and ordered to comply with their parts of the contract. Some did so and others stated that they could not.

When the Viceroy's letter was read in the Council, May 27, 1596, it was decreed to write him to take away from Vizcaino the command of the expedition, and to request him to recommend some other person to whom it could be given who would carry out the enterprise with more satisfaction and with greater hope of success,¹³ but before these orders reached Mexico, Vizcaino had departed. He left Mexico May 12, 1596, with his force and set sail from Acapulco June 15. He had two small ships and a large one of 500 tons burden, carrying altogether 230 seamen and soldiers and fourteen horses, arms, ammunition and supplies for them, twelve pieces of small artillery and food for eight months. With him were Fray Francisco de Balda and four other Franciscans. In 1593 he had intended to take Jesuits, and no explanation of the change appears, but quite likely it was due to the intervention of the new viceroy, who may not have been so favorably disposed towards the Jesuits as Velasco had been. In later years, the Franciscans claimed a preferential right to evangelize the Californias, going back for a precedent to the days of Cortés, who had Franciscans with him.

September 3, Vizcaino reached the peninsula in a large bay which he stated was in 24° and was capable of holding an infinite number of ships. This was probably Bahia Ventana, which faces the south end of the Isla de Cerralvo. The country was found to be extremely rough and arid and the natives to talk a language which Vizcaino said "was so barbarous that it sounds more like the bleating of sheep than the speech of men." Possession was taken, the port was called "San Sebastian," and the province "Nueva Andalucia." A town was laid out which was named "San Felipe." The place did not seem, however, to be favorable for settlement, so it was decided to try farther north. The Bahia de la Paz was soon found and, on examining the country for a suitable place in which to make a camp, remains were found of Cortés' old town. No sooner

had a landing been made than some of the soldiers became alarmed at the wretchedness and sterility of the country, and wanted to go back to New Spain. Vizcaino persuaded them to remain while he made a reconnaissance of the coast with a hundred men and the two small vessels. A town was laid out, the port was named "La Paz" (stated to have been in 25°), and October 3, Vizcaino departed.

In view of the obvious inaccuracy of the latitudes ascribed to the various places he mentions in his narrative it is very difficult to trace the route followed by him on this expedition. Some men whom he finally landed to get water got into a fight with the natives. The ship's boat on leaving the shore with the second party was upset and nineteen of the soldiers were drowned. After that misfortune, which apparently happened at San Bruno or Loreto, the party returned to La Paz October 18. On the 21st, more than half of the camp, most of the munitions and food and many of the arms were destroyed by fire. No food could be obtained from the natives and, as part of what had been brought had been previously lost, not enough was now left to continue the expedition with the entire force. Besides this, all were so cast down by the numerous calamities which had occurred that they insisted on returning. Vizcaino therefore sent the greater part of the men and all the women back in the *San Francisco* and the launch, while he decided to make another attempt to ascend the gulf with the other vessel. October 28 they all left La Paz. Vizcaino himself, after encountering a series of storms and reaching what he referred to as Cabo de San Antonio in $29\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$,¹⁴ finally returned to Salagua December 7, with his ship so full of water that she was nearly submerged.

It can be seen from the foregoing brief extract of Vizcaino's own account of the voyage, that the enterprise was a total failure. He had not a good word to say for the country nor for most of the men who accompanied him, but he professed to have found numberless Indians whom he thought would easily receive the Holy Evangel. He claimed that when they saw the image of the Virgin they fell on their knees, put their hands together, and raised their eyes to heaven, and he also declared that when he departed from La Paz they made demonstrations of sorrow at his departure and asked by signs when he would return. He left with them and with those at San Sebastian large crosses, and asserted that they gave him to understand that they would not take them away before he returned. The Viceroy was not at all pleased with the accomplishments of this expedition, although he seems to have accepted as the principal cause of the unfortunate outcome the excuse offered by Vizcaino¹⁵ that he had begun the voyage at the wrong time of the year. On the whole, he thought that Vizcaino had proceeded with more wisdom than might have been expected.¹⁶ It is plain from remarks in some of his letters, and the subsequent actions of Vizcaino himself, that Vizcaino had found better indications of pearls than he gave out when he came back.

During the rest of the year, Vizcaino was busy negotiating with the Viceroy for authority to make a new effort, offering to start in March, 1598, and take

divers to fish for pearls, five small ships, 150 men and 8 pieces of artillery. He began by asking for a loan of 35,000 pesos, but by November had reduced this to 15,000. His various petitions were forwarded to Madrid and the last sent in November was accompanied by another proposal from Gabriel Maldonado. Maldonado petitioned the King to cancel Vizcaino's contract, as he had not found out anything definite about the pearl fishery, and to commit the enterprise to him. He bettered Vizcaino's proposal by offering to equip an expedition, and, in case a real pearl fishery was found, to conquer and pacify the country at his own expense. He had some advantages over Vizcaino, as he was highly connected in Spain, and had been in the pearl fishing business for ten years or more at the Isla de Margarita and the Rio de la Hacha. The Viceroy said, in sending the petition, that he did not see the justice of cancelling Vizcaino's contract after he and his partners had spent so much money and had refused, with the approval of the Audiencia, to give Maldonado a license, although he still had no great opinion of the capacity of Vizcaino. He stated that in the opinion of himself and the Audiencia, "the lack of success in the past voyage did not appear from the accounts to have been brought about by the incapacity of Vizcaino, who rather had displayed some moderate talent and more spirit than could be ordinarily expected of a merchant in such an enterprise, but was due to ignorance of the seas, and to having undertaken the journey without having given proper thought to the burden of the ships, and with an unnecessary number of men and an insufficient supply of certain kinds of food."¹⁷

As previously stated, the Viceroy was now anxious to send a small expedition up the outer coast and wished to appoint Vizcaino to command it. His suggestion to divide the task of exploration between two parties seems to have arisen largely from his desire to allow Maldonado to try his luck up the gulf. As Vizcaino could not go on without funds and the Viceroy did not feel that it was just to take his contract of exploration away from him directly, he suggested purchasing Vizcaino's ships and supplies. In this way, no doubt, he considered that the King would be at liberty to give Maldonado a chance. It was probably due to the death of the King shortly after these various proposals were considered in the Council August 30, 1598,¹⁸ that no definite order to proceed with the expedition seems to have been sent to the Viceroy until September 27, 1599.

The document has not yet been found, but from the letters of the Viceroy and the instructions given to Vizcaino it is clear that it embodied the substance of the Viceroy's recommendations. In complying with this order, Monterey consulted persons experienced in the matter, and an agreement was reached that the voyage should be made in 1601. Having commenced to make the necessary arrangements, he was advised that it was too late in the year to set out. He therefore called a new council and this, after viewing some papers and accounts he placed before it, made a recommendation to postpone the voyage until the year 1602. As the expedition was so important and promised such good results, the council also thought it inadvisable to make it with a single

ship only, as this could easily be lost in sailing through seas and places never before seen or reconnoitered, with the result that all the expense incurred would be lost, and even the desire to undertake the enterprise again, but that it should be made with two ships, and a launch which could make soundings of the ports and bays, and that they should take fifty or sixty sailors, as the voyage would be long and arduous. As this seemed good advice, the Viceroy accepted it, and at once gave an order to proceed with the necessary preparations.

As there were no ships available for the purpose in Acapulco at that time, the Viceroy ordered a search to be made for one in the ports of Sonsonate and Realejo, and appointed for the purpose Captain Toribio Gomez de Corbán, recently arrived from Spain, who brought papers and very honorable certificates of the service he had rendered His Majesty in sixteen years. Gomez and another soldier left on this mission in July, 1601, so that they could be back by November. In the meantime, the Viceroy ordered the launch to be built in the port and appointed Vizcaino to command the expedition, because, he said, of all men in the kingdom he was one of the most conversant with that coast, was a diligent person, worthy of confidence, and possessed some moderate talent. Besides these qualifications, he would leave behind some property, a wife and a son. The Viceroy now gave him an order to enlist the seamen, but very few came forward, since the voyage would be one of hardships. There was also a disinclination to enlist owing to the fact that only sailors were to go. It was therefore necessary to permit him to raise the standard and enlist soldiers also, although with the precise understanding that all should be sailors as well, and that only those should be enrolled who would go and were very expert. It was also found advisable to order an increase of three pesos above the fifteen ordinarily given to each soldier at the time of enlistment in raising forces in New Spain.

Considering how long the journey was expected to last, it seemed to the Viceroy very necessary that unofficial persons of reputation and position should go along, so that in case any hardships or difficulties arose they might put on a good face and keep up to their obligations the rest of the men, who in similar cases usually looked on such persons as very important. The Viceroy therefore ordered six old experienced soldiers, worthy of confidence, to embark with Vizcaino, giving them the title of *entrettenidos*¹⁹ for His Majesty. He at once picked out three for this duty, namely, Captain Gomez, Captain Alonso Esteban Peguero and Ensign Pascual de Alarcon, as they were distinguished individuals who had served in Flanders and Brittany. These were to give counsel to Vizcaino, and he ordered Vizcaino to do nothing except with their approval. Later he appointed Francisco Benítez to serve him in a similar capacity. It was also considered necessary that a cosmographer should go, to make a map of what was discovered, and he also was to have a vote in the conferences with those above mentioned. As Captain Gerónimo Martin Palacios, a person distinguished in this art, had arrived in the *Flota*, the Viceroy ordered a search made for him. He had a title as cosmographer from the *Casa de Contratacion*

in Seville, dated at the end of March, 1595, and also a cedula dated at the end of December, 1600, in which he was recommended to the Viceroy as having served twenty years as sailor, pilot, and master, in the *flotas* and fleets of the King.²⁰ The Viceroy therefore made a contract with him.

By Christmas all the force had been raised, and the food and everything necessary was ready. They now only awaited Captain Gomez, who wrote that he had not obtained such good dispatch as expected, and that difficulties were arising from the lack of ships to be purchased and in other matters, and that he would have to leave somewhat late with only one ship. This induced the Viceroy to order the force which had been raised to leave Mexico, and to endeavor to make the voyage with a good vessel which had reached Acapulco from Peru and with some *fragata* then in that port.

On March 2 peremptory orders were issued in writing, forbidding Vizcaino to enter the Gulf of California while on the outward voyage, but permitting him to do so on his return if he had time and the fleet was in proper condition.²¹ On the 18th, a set of twenty-five instructions was given him to govern his conduct while on the voyage.²² These differ in almost every respect from those previously issued to commanders of exploring expeditions, being largely devoted to the method of holding councils, to sailing directions and to a continual insistence on the purpose of the voyage, which was to examine the coast in detail, make soundings in the ports and ascertain their landmarks, take the sun every day and the north star every night, examine the ports for pearls, and make maps of the discoveries. Vizcaino was not allowed to do anything of importance without consulting his council, in which he had no vote except in case of a tie, being obliged to follow the opinion of the majority. Two councils were provided: one for questions of navigation, consisting of Captains Gomez and Palacios, Pascual de Alarcon and Peguero, the pilots and the masters; and the other a military one, consisting of Captains Gomez and Palacios, Peguero and Alarcon. He was directed to be very cautious if Indians were encountered, and to treat them well, and was forbidden to allow anyone to go inland to look for them, as that was not a necessary part of his business. If the ports he found already had names on his map, he was not to change them, but otherwise he was to name them after the saints or some of those on board.²³ He was especially charged to make use of the services of Captain Palacios, whose business it was to make the maps. If any difference of opinion arose in the council regarding any matter which came up for discussion, each man was required to state his opinion in writing. That these provisions were carried out will be seen in the issue. Little seems to have been left to the discretion of the commander. While such councils were the rule on board ship in those days, they usually acted only in an advisory capacity; the fact seems to be that the Viceroy had very little confidence in Vizcaino's judgment.

The force arrived at Acapulco on March 10, and before they could get ready, Gomez entered the port after a voyage so long and stormy that the ship was in need of much repair. This caused a delay until May 5, when Gomez'

ship and the one from Peru, which the Viceroy had ordered purchased as it was appropriate for the purpose, set sail, together with the launch. All thought that the departure was in good season.²⁴ The ships were well equipped and carried more than enough food for a year, the longest time that it seemed likely the voyage would last. The seamen were well chosen, and the Viceroy hoped for the discovery of some good port and shelter, so greatly desired, where the ships from China could be relieved and their voyage assured. Besides this, he had an expectation, he wrote, of other news of importance.²⁵

Just before sailing on the 5th of May, Vizcaino addressed a letter to the King stating that he expected to leave at five o'clock in the afternoon with the hope that with the aid of the Lord he was about to render a great service to His Majesty.²⁶ The Viceroy nowhere mentions the terms of the contract he made with him, but inasmuch as no profit could possibly be expected to be derived from the expedition, there is no likelihood that he had any interest in it. Nevertheless, in 1603 he produced some witnesses who testified that he had paid part or all of the expenses of the soldiers who had been enlisted in Mexico, for a period of ten months before they reached Acapulco, and made this one of the foundations of his claim for a reward. Vizcaino's old company nowhere appears in the transaction, nor did he himself refer to it except once, when he was seeking a new concession in 1597; in fact, he forgot about it later, and one would imagine from reading his *Informacion* of 1603 and his subsequent memorials and petitions, that he never had had any partners. He took to himself the entire credit for his expedition of 1596 and even claimed to have paid the entire expense of it.

The objects of the expedition would appear to be very plainly set forth in the correspondence. As Father Antonio de la Ascension later asserted, however, that there was another and the real one, not mentioned in any of this or in the instructions, namely, to look for the City of Quivira or some strait which was supposed to enter the South Sea north of Cabo Mendocino,²⁷ it may not be amiss to see what foundation there may have been for this statement. Hernando de los Rios Coronel had written the King from Manila, June 27, 1597, proposing to take possession of Formosa. His letter was forwarded by Luis Perez Dasmariñas, the governor of the islands, who took occasion to eulogize the writer, saying there was no one in the islands who surpassed him in his knowledge of mathematics and in his disinterestedness. Coronel had gone there about 1588, and was probably the first man of scientific attainments to reach them after Jayme Juan.²⁸ At the time of writing, he was busy composing a book on the use of the astrolabe.²⁹ After setting forth his scheme for the conquest of Formosa, he enlarged on the great expense and the loss of many men in sending reinforcements to the islands by the way of New Spain or India, and outlined two other routes by which this could be done, one by the strait named "Anian," an account of which he said he had found in the islands written by Fr. Martin de Rada, and the other by way of New Mexico, as he expressed it.³⁰ He backed up his arguments with the following stories:

A Basque named Juanes de Rivas, a good man and native of San Sebastian, told me that while on a voyage to the whale fishery in Terra Nova, he gained information that in the year 1545 some Bretons, after sailing northwest a hundred leagues from the Punta de Breton, which is about eighty leagues west of the Punta de Bacallaos, in 49° or 50° (he said 52°), fell in with a strait by which, according to the story, some Portuguese had gone to India and China, and back again from Ucheo³¹ to Lisbon, which they reached in forty-five days. Believing that the King would reward them, they gave him an account of it, but he put them in prison and the pilot and master died there. One of these Portuguese who was in the ship came to New Spain afterwards and went with Francisco de Ibarra on the discovery of Nueva Vizcaya. Ibarra decided to go and look for this strait, but they fell out. The Basque and the Portuguese became friendly, and conferring with each other about what each one knew and had seen, they said that from the Cabo de Breton you go to the northwest until you strike the mainland, then following the coast down towards the southwest, in which direction it runs, the entrance is struck, which, although seemingly very small, is very large and deep. Getting out into this China Sea, the coast of which runs towards China in a west-southwest direction, they said that on the side of the strait towards the South Sea [some letters lost] of the north, there are many small islands, although a better statement would be that they were on the north side coming from China. Besides this landmark, by following the coast the strait cannot be missed. They gave as landmarks that on the left side the Chinese shore is very high, with pine trees, and on the other side it is very low, but also wooded. They said that in the strait the wind was of no service, but that the currents draw them into it and take them out. They said that the so-called "Islas de Bacallaos" is all one island (unless, perhaps, there are some small islands close to it), to the Cabo de Gata,³² which is in 62° , where there is a deep passage to enter the great bay. They said that the Punta de Bacallaos is in 50° , and that the coast runs along from this island to the Cabo de Breton, about eighty leagues, and that what is called "Cabo de Breton" on the maps is the large island itself, and is nearer the Punta de Bacallaos than the Cabo de Gata.

It can also be inferred that these seas communicate with each other, because those who sail from these islands see on the coast of New Spain a great number of whales in the latitude of 42° , which must enter by that strait. Therefore, by this way Your Majesty can place what force you wish [some letters lost]. Although this navigation on account of the high latitude seems to entail some difficulty, there is none, because leaving [some letters lost] in March when they reach this latitude it is hot, and [some letters lost] the seas are calm and the winds are from the northeast, which are those required, and you can come here with much ease. . . .

The other route and sailing is by way of New Mexico, in the latitude of 45° . Of this, a friar of the order of San Augustin, intelligent in cosmography, the prior, who died in the convent here,³³ gave me an account, saying that at the time when Don Luis de Velasco, the elder, was governing New Spain, a Basque gave him in his presence an account of it, stating that he had seen, while on a journey with a French corsair, that they entered an arm of the sea above the coast of Florida during a storm, and having sailed many days towards the west found the arm of the sea to end in the latitude of 45° . They then saw a half a league from there another arm of the sea.³⁴ They built a brigantine, and sailing through this they fell in with a well-populated city, whose inhabitants gave them whatever they needed, and made some houses of boards for them on the beach. They remained there until, on account of some incivility of a soldier to a woman, they were ejected from the country and returned. From this it is inferred that the two seas are close together in that place, and if Your Majesty would order New Mexico to be pacified [some letters lost] the navigation from here would be easy, keeping ships in both seas. Padre Sedeño, rector of the company of Jesus, who died about two years ago, also told me about this, and said that while he was in Florida, Pedro Melendez had communicated with him about it many times.

These two discoveries would be very easy to make from these islands, and at little more cost than from Spain, as the entrances from there are difficult to find, while from here they cannot be missed, nor does any impediment offer. The first year that Gomez Perez Dasmariñas came here as governor, he treated with me about sending me with a ship to discover this strait, but because of the expedition which he decided to make to Maluco, he postponed it, and as he was afterwards killed so unfortunately, everything came to a stop, but I believe that if he had lived he would have advanced the affairs of these parts very much, and would have served Your Majesty well in view of the valor and zeal which he displayed.

The first of these stories was very old, it may, in fact, have originated before 1540. The second is obviously the same, with variations, as that of Obregon related in Chapter VII. Coronel's letter, having presumably left Manila about July 1, must have reached Mexico early in 1598 and been forwarded to Spain

in the spring. It therefore should have been in the hands of the Council by the summer of that year. Philip II died September 13, 1598, and was succeeded by his son, known as Philip III. It seems not unlikely that while the Council was considering the matter of a new voyage up the northwest coast the arrival of Coronel's letter with a circumstantial account of two possible passages between the North Sea and the South Sea, apparently based on good authority, induced a search to be made in the archives for any documents bearing on the matter. Father Antonio de la Ascencion states that a sworn *Informacion* was found which had been given to Philip II by some foreigners, very evidently the story related by Obregon, which had been reduced to legal form by Viceroy Velasco and sent to Spain. In his account Father Antonio relates at some length a story which is substantially the same as Coronel's second one, making it evident that he had either seen a copy of Coronel's letter, or else one from the King in which that information was embodied. No mention was made of the scheme in the opinion of the Council of August 30, 1598, which would indicate that they either paid no attention to Coronel's letter or that it had not then been received. It is therefore impossible to estimate what influence, if any, his stories had in bringing the King to order the expedition to be made, but everything goes to show that if a search for his strait was one of the objects of the expedition, it was a very minor one.

In answering Coronel's letter, the governor of the Philippines was ordered to consult experienced persons about whether it was advisable to take possession of the Isla de Armiño, but nothing was said of hunting for any strait, although that was stated to be a matter of importance.³⁵ In the instructions issued by the Viceroy to Vizcaino we look in vain for some indication that he had any such object in view, although these must be in substance the orders received from the King. It might possibly be inferred from the permission given Vizcaino to pass beyond Cabo Mendocino as far as Cabo Blanco, if he had time and good weather, and even beyond Cabo Blanco to a distance of more than a hundred leagues from Cabo Mendocino, that he was to search for some strait. Such an order may even have been given to him verbally, in conformity either with something contained in the cedula of September 27, 1599, containing the orders to send out the expedition, or in some subsequent letter. The question must remain unanswered until either the cedula or some such letter be found.

It is plain from Vizcaino's instructions that the Viceroy had no direct knowledge of the coast beyond Cabo Mendocino, and although he speaks of maps, it is likely that they were not Spanish but foreign ones. Cabo Blanco was referred to by him as being in 44° of latitude, and he ordered that if the maps should be found to be incorrect and the coast should turn to the west at Cabo Mendocino, Vizcaino should then reconnoiter it. The maps he had must therefore have shown the coast as turning from Mendocino towards the north or the east, and in the account of the voyage there is evidence that the coast was expected to turn northeast at that cape. Cabo Mendocino had first appeared on Ortelius' map of America of 1587 in about 54°, and on this map the coast is

shown turning northeast and then north to a Rio de los Estrechos in 59°. ³⁶ Cabo Blanco is first shown on Peter Plancius' map of 1592, not in the latitude of 44°, but four distinct ones in 30°, 34°, 40° and 55°.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The facts set out in this chapter regarding the concessions to Sanctotis and Vizcaino have been largely obtained from a huge *testimonio* in the archives in Seville, No. 1-1-1/30, in which a large number of documents were brought together between 1628 and 1632 in the investigation about California conducted in Mexico by Lic. Juan de Alvarez Serrano. The first 132 folios relate to the Sanctotis enterprise and the negotiation for the first expedition of Vizcaino. The first cedula of Luis de Velasco of November 16, 1593, is incorporated in the final contract with Vizcaino, October 14, 1595, 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 7. In this document a number of others are embodied which were also copied in the *testimonio* above mentioned. A comparison of these indicates that the original documents were very carelessly copied in 1628, leading to numerous errors, mostly, however, of small importance. These two documents contain all that is known of the Sanctotis enterprise, except a few references to it of no value in the letters of Sanctotis himself in 58-6-21, 58-6-23, and two in 58-6-30. In the last ones, which are half destroyed, something is said in regard to his lawsuit. There are also references to him and his concession in a letter from the Audiencia of November 20, 1586, in 58-5-10, and in one of Villamanrique, the viceroy, of November 15, 1586, in 58-3-9. Most of the information regarding Vizcaino is taken from his *Informacion de servicios* of November 20, 1603, in 1-1-1/30, No. 3. The letters of the Conde de Monterey in reference to the matter are contained in 58-3-12.

The account of the first expedition of Vizcaino has been chiefly taken from his own account of the voyage written December 8, the day after his arrival at Salagua, in 141-1-1, and from Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana*, Vol. I, 682. Vizcaino himself, in connection with subsequent petitions, furnished abridged accounts of the expedition, dated November 11, 1597, and April 16, 1598. They are professedly taken from his original account, but whether from the one dated December 8 is not quite certain. They contain, however, nothing additional of importance. Torquemada's account was made up from that of Vizcaino and from one written by one of the friars, probably Bernardino de Zamudio. During the investigation about California which began in 1628, several men who had accompanied Vizcaino made declarations: Gonzalo de Francia, the boatswain of the *San Francisco*; Sebastian Gutierrez, a merchant; Alonso Ortiz de Sandoval, who carried the sounding-line and claimed to have made a chart; and Lope de Argüelles Quiñones, who was probably in command of the launch on the first expedition up the gulf. Enrique Martinez also made a declaration about the expedition, although he did not accompany it. He used a somewhat different account and gave a few additional facts.

The principal documents regarding the efforts of Vizcaino to secure a new contract will be found in 141-1-1. The file begins with a short petition by him in which he requests that the accompanying papers be examined and that he be granted the concession for which he asked. This bears a notation of the Council, Madrid, January 11, 1599, that what had been done in the matter be brought in. The next document is an abridged account of the journey containing his request for assistance, and at the end, the grants which he asked for himself and his companions. It is signed by Vizcaino and dated April 16, 1598. The first part is undoubtedly a copy of one that he had transmitted much earlier, unless the date, 1598, of the document is an error for 1597. Following this is the Viceroy's letter of February 17, 1597; then Vizcaino's account dated December 8, 1596; another abridged account dated November 11, 1597, and then a petition of Vizcaino, evidently addressed to the president of the Council of the Indies, in which he requests action on the preceding memorials in the form of a confirmation of the contract made with him by Velasco in 1595 and that a new one be made containing his requests as set forth in the preceding documents. This contains a notation at the top that 2,000 pesos had been given (evidently to him) June 20, 1598. The letters of the Conde de Monterey referring to the matter are dated July 28 and November 26, 1597, in 58-3-12; December 13, 1598, and June 8, 1599, in 58-3-13; and May 31, 1602, in 58-3-14. Vizcaino's letters of February 26, 1597, and May 5, 1602, are in 58-6-30 and 58-6-35, respectively; the *consulta* of August 30, 1598, in 141-1-1, and the instructions and notification to Vizcaino in 67-3-27, but there is a more accurate copy of the notification in 58-3-14.

The following documents were first published by Carrasco in his *Documentos*: Monterey's letter of February 29, 1596 (No. 10); a paragraph of his letter of April 17 (No. 11); a paragraph of his letter of November 15 (No. 13); Vizcaino's account of his voyage (the undated one), (No. 14); Vizcaino's letter of February 27, 1597 (No. 15); a paragraph of Monterey's letter of July 28 (No. 16); and a paragraph of his letter of November 26 (No. 17); Monterey's letter of May 21, 1602 (No. 18); the notification to Vizcaino of March 2, 1602 (No. 19); the instructions to Vizcaino of March 18 (No. 20); and Vizcaino's letter of May 5 (No. 21).

George Butler Griffin published the following with translations in Vol. II, Part 1, of the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California in Los Angeles, 1891: Monterey's letter of February 29, 1596; Vizcaino's letter of February 27, 1597; an undated "First Memorial"; Paragraph No. 14 of the Viceroy's letter of July 28, 1597; some extracts from the letter of the Viceroy, November 26, 1597, and Vizcaino's letter of May 5, 1602, as Nos. 8 to 15, respectively.

The documents dealing with the second expedition are numerous. They may be divided into three categories: the account written by Father Antonio de la Ascension translated in the next chapter and the abridgements of it subsequently made by him; the official accounts of the expedition; and lastly,

the collateral references to it in the letters of the Viceroy and Vizcaino and various documents cited specifically.

THE ACCOUNTS OF FATHER ANTONIO

A. *Relacion de la jornada que hizo el General Sevastian Vizcayno al descubrimiento de las Californias el año de 1602 por mandado del Señor Excelentísimo Conde de Monterey, Virrey que era dela Nueva España. Escrita por el R. P. Fray Antonio de la Ascension dela orden descalza de Nuestra Señora del Carmen, uno de los tres religiosos que fueron à esta jornada.*

This consists of a quarto volume of 248 pages divided into sixteen chapters. The last 11 pages are in the handwriting of Father Antonio himself, who signed his name at the end and certified that it was a copy of the original which he retained. The document is apparently the one which belonged to Lic. Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado, as mentioned by Don Andrés Gonzalez Barcia in 1737 in his *Epítome*, folio 611. Some thirty or forty years ago it appeared in a Dufossé catalogue as No. 72,933 and was evidently purchased by Mr. Edward E. Ayer, as it is now in the Ayer collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago. From this, Father Antonio's subsequent abridgements and the account published by Torquemada were taken; all of these however, contain here and there an occasional piece of information not found in the original. Very few clues to the date of its composition can be obtained. It is not the diary which he kept on the journey, but bears every evidence of having been written for publication some little time after the return. It would perhaps not be amiss to conclude that he compiled it for Torquemada, who completed the first volume of his work about the end of 1611.

B. In 1615 Torquemada published in his *Monarchia Indiana*, Vol. I, 694 *et seq.*, an account of the voyage taken almost word for word from A, with a few notices regarding the preparations for the expedition obtained from other sources, but with numerous omissions, which frequently constitute those parts of Father Antonio's account most interesting to us. Generally speaking, however, Torquemada used good judgment and omitted much of no value. Father Antonio's style is extremely redundant and tautological; some of his statements are repeated fifteen times or more in the course of his account, and if it was possible to find two or three synonymous words to express the same idea, he grasped the opportunity to use them. Torquemada's text, even where he is quoting verbatim, varies somewhat from that of A, so he possibly used another copy of it. Some of his changes are obvious errors, some apparently corrections, and occasionally he put in an interpolation. The first edition of this work is of extraordinary rarity, only two or three copies being known at the present time. In 1723 Gonzalez Barcia reprinted it and made a few corrections, but the errors are more numerous. From this it was inserted in the *Noticia de la California*, published in Madrid in 1757, as Appendix II to Vol. III. Although Miguel de Venegas, the original author of the *Noticia*, stated that this was an extract of Father Antonio's account, Marcos Burriel, the editor of the work,

attributed it to Vizcaino himself, as for some reason Torquemada had neglected to state that it had been written by Father Antonio. From the *Noticia* it was translated into English, French, Dutch and German, and thus came to be generally known. Most of their knowledge of the expedition has been obtained by English and American writers from the English translation, which is not so poor as it is now usually stated to be. The translator improved on Torquemada and removed some more redundancies and many of the pious observations of Father Antonio which Torquemada as a good Franciscan had felt compelled to retain.

C. *Relacion breve en que se dá noticia del descubrimiento que se hizo en la Nueva-España, en la mar del Sur, desde el puerto de Acapulco hasta más adelante del cabo Mendocino; en que se dá cuenta de las riquezas y buen temple y comodidades del reino de Californias, y de cómo podrá S. M. á poca costa pacificarle y incorporarle en su Real Corona, y hacer que en él se predique el santo Evangelio, por el padre Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, religioso carmelita descalzo que se halló en él, y como cosmógrafo lo demarcó.*

The above title is copied from page 539 of Vol. VIII of the *Documentos* of P. & C. and is presumably a more or less exact copy of the title to the manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. The account occupies pages 539 to 574 of this volume and at the end it is dated from the Convent of San Sebastian, Mexico, October 12, 1620. The manuscript is written on paper of small folio size and is a contemporary copy, according to the editors of the *Documentos*. Preceding it is a holograph petition of Francisco Ramirez de Arellano, in which he offers his services to carry out the pious plan of Father Antonio set forth in the *Relacion breve* just referred to, although he does not say this in so many words, but states that Father Antonio had given him a full account of the discovery. From the text in the *Documentos* both Ramirez' petition and Father Antonio's account were translated and published by Dr. Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*. The work, which is divided into twenty chapters, contains, mostly in Chapters IX to XII, an account of the voyage very much abridged, the chapters preceding No. IX being principally devoted to general observations. Father Antonio states in Chapter IV that he made a map of the discoveries and the Mediterranean Sea of California which he was sending with the manuscript. Unfortunately, the map is not at present with the manuscript and its whereabouts is unknown.

D. *Relacion breve.*

Another copy of C (with slight changes) in the Biblioteca Universitaria de Sevilla. It does not appear for what purpose this copy was made. The insertion of "IV" after "Felipe" in the first line of Paragraph XX indicates that it was made after March 31, 1621, when Philip IV became king. There is also an omission in Paragraph XIX after "*Indios gentiles*" of the following: "*que va antes deste en este cartapacio.*" A few parenthetical observations are inserted relating to the Gulf of California, otherwise, except for verbal changes, they are the same. It ends with the word "Amen," what follows in C being omitted.

E. *Breve relacion en que se dá noticia del descúbrimiento que se hizo en la Nueva España por el mar del sùr, etc., etc., dirigida a la Magestad del mui católico Rey Felipe 4º. Por el P. Fray Antonio de la Ascension, carmelita descalzo, que fué a este descúbrimiento haciendo oficio de cosmógrafo.*

This small quarto manuscript is at present in the New York Public Library. It was obtained from Obadiah Rich by Mr. James Lennox with a number of other manuscripts, most or all of which are believed to have belonged at one time to Juan Bautista Muñoz. It is a copy only, and at the end is dated Mexico, May 20, 1627, and signed "Fr. Antonio de la Ascension." Following this on the same page is a note in the same handwriting. [Translation] "By the hand of Captain Felipe Vastan de Santiago, one of those who took part in this exploration and who begs Your Majesty to grant him the favor of naming this kingdom Nuevo Reino de Navarra, since of all your other kingdoms you have a second one except of this, of which he, who offers his life in your service and in the conquest of this kingdom, is a native."

The text differs entirely from that of C or D and bears every evidence of having been prepared for publication. Vastan de Santiago, who, it will be seen, was the soldier who brought back the *Tres Reyes* after the death of the commander and the pilot, went to Spain seeking a concession to conquer and pacify the country. It is evident, not only from the added note just translated, but from several references to him by name in the course of the account, that Father Antonio gave him this to carry to Spain to aid him in his pretensions. The work is divided into parts, as follows: Title, 1 page; Prólogo, 12 pages; *Breve Relacion*, etc.; (new title somewhat fuller than the first), 1 page; *Para la Magestad de Nuestro muy católico Rey Felipe 4º*, 15 pages; *Californias*, 19 pages, signed at the end; 2 pages without title; *Del modo como se podrá poblar y pacificar este grande Reyno*, 26 pages:— total 76 pages. The twelfth page of the part headed "Californias" contains only two lines and the following page begins in the middle of a sentence. There is a note in another handwriting in the blank portion of the page to the effect that there was something lacking here in the original. This omission is unfortunate, as he had just begun to describe the Port of San Diego. A peculiarity of this *Breve relacion* is the somewhat minute account which it contains of the voyage along the coast of Jalisco and Sinaloa not found in A. On the other hand, the section *Californias* is a very much abridged account of the voyage but contains some statements not found in any of the other manuscripts. Several incidents are related as having occurred in different places from those to which they were attributed in A. On the whole, it appears that Father Antonio drew this up from his own original notes.

F. When the papers which Vastan de Santiago presented to the Council of the Indies were examined, that body recommended to the King that in view of the ill success which had attended the efforts of various individuals to open up a pearl fishing business on the peninsula it would be advisable to have the entire subject thoroughly investigated. The King therefore directed a cedula to that effect to be sent to the Audiencia in Mexico. This cedula is dated

August 2, 1628, and contains an express order to secure the evidence of Father Antonio de la Ascension and other persons who might have information regarding the matter. In pursuance of this, one of the *oidores*, Lic. Juan de Alvarez Serrano, was assigned to take the testimony, and a voluminous *expediente* was formed, now in 1-1-1/30. The first witness called was Father Antonio, who gave his report May 20, 1629. This is of little value, being almost entirely devoted to a rehash of his views of the best ways of colonizing the country and converting the natives.

G. June 8, 1629, Father Antonio sent from Valladolid in Michoacan to Alvarez Serrano who inserted it in the file, the following:

Relacion en que se da noticia del descubrimiento que se hizo de la nueva españa por el mar del sur desde el puerto de acapulco hasta el cauo mendocino en que se da quenta de las cossas que en el se bieron y descubrieron y lo mucho bueno que en este gran Reyno de la California ay de riqueza de plata oro perlas y ambar demas del buen temple de la tierra y de la gran suma de yndios manços y pacíficos que en el ay muy bien dispuestos para enseñarles el sancto evangelio por el Padre fray antonio de la ascension Religioso Carmelita descalço que fue a este descubrimiento haciendo officio de cosmografo el año de mill y seiscientos y dos.....

This memorial is devoted to an account of the voyage and his views on the methods to be used in colonizing and pacifying California. It differs entirely from any of his other abridgements.

H. March 22, 1632, Father Antonio sent to Alvarez Serrano another account of the expedition still more abridged than G. It contains no additional information of value.

I. *De Roterio cierto y Berdadero Para Nauegar desde el cauo mendoçino que es Desde altura De. 42. grados. hasta el puerto de acapulco por la costa De la mar Del sur. hecho cuando se hizo el descubrimiento Desde el dicho cauo mendoçino al dicho puerto De acapulco. que se hizo por horden Del señor conde de Monte Rey. birrey de la nueva españa el año de 1602. siendo general sebastian bizcayno. De la armada que fue a hacer el dicho descubrimy^{to}. hecho por padre fray antonio dela ascension Religiosso descalço de nuestra señora del carmen que fue por segundo cosmografo Del Dicho descubrimiento.*

This is a manuscript of 23 small folio pages in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. At the end is the following paragraph: [Translation] "This *derrotero* was made in the years 1603 and 1602 by the pilot Franco de Bolaños and was corrected and added to in many respects in which it was lacking by Father Fray Antonio de la Asension barefoot friar of our Señora del Carmen who occupied the position of cosmographer. He formed this *derrotero* when he went to discover Cabo Mendocino and all the coast from there to the Puerto de Acapulco. The commander of the fleet which went to discover it was Sebastian Bizcayno, the Conde de Monterey then governing New Spain as viceroy. This *derrotero* was finished March 22 of the said year, the day of San Benito Abad, Friday, the day in which the *Capitana* entered said port." The rest of the page

is torn off, perhaps it was signed, but it is not in the handwriting of Father Antonio.

A translation of this *derrotero*, which is evidently the one that Father Antonio stated in several of his abridged accounts that he had made, will be found later in the Appendix. It differs in many respects from the one found among the official accounts, and which evidently had been drawn up by Captain Martin Palacios.

THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS

These are found in 60-4-37 and are not the originals but copies made in Mexico from a book in which the originals had either been inserted or copied. While not so interesting as the account of Father Antonio from which they differ in many details, they are perhaps the most valuable records of the expedition.

J. A record of the councils held on board the *San Diego*.

This document was first published by Francisco Carrasco y Guisasola in Madrid, 1882, in his *Documentos*.

K. An account of the expedition in seventeen chapters probably written by Vizcaino. Certified in Mexico, December 8, 1603. First published by Carrasco y Guisasola in his *Documentos*. It was translated and published by Dr. Bolton in his *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest* with footnotes which contain much of the information given in the other official documents here described.

K. *Derrotero de la navegacion* [abbreviations written out] *desde el Puerto de Acapulco al Cabo Mendocino y boca de las Californias fecho por el Capitan Geronimo Martin Palacios cosmografo mayor del nuevo descubrimiento de los puertos y bayas ensenadas de la tierra y puertos y fondos con sus derotas alturas señas de la tierra y los demas requisitos que pide el arte de la mar. Fecho con acuerdo del piloto mayor Francisco de Volañon y su acompañado Estevan Rodriguez y los pilotos Juan Pazqual, Baltasar de Armas y Antonio Flores que en conformidad de todos se hizo de la manera siguiente, estando presente el padre fray Antonio de la Ascension; que se hizo el año de mill y seisçientos y dos por mandado del Rey Don Phelipe nuestro señor tercero deste nombre siendo Birrey y Capitan general desta nueva españa el Illustrisimo señor conde de Monte Rey y siendo general, yendo a su cargo la gente de mar y guerra y navios del dicho descubrimiento, Seuastian Vizcayno, vecino de Mexico.*

Published by Carrasco y Guisasola in his *Documentos*.

M. A series of small charts of the coast extending from Navidad to Cabo Mendocino, 33 in number. Most of these are accompanied by some explanation extending from a few lines to a full page. One of the charts is a series of profiles of the coast of Jalisco and Sinaloa. Prefixed to this series is the following note: [Translation] "By the order of his Excellency the Conde de Monterey, I, Enrico Martinez, cosmographer of His Majesty in this New Spain, have

drawn the following plans in this book of the discovery of the coast and ports of the South Sea and Cabo Mendocino, from this folio No. 59 to folio 90. These plans I have carefully copied from the original book of the discovery. They are drawn in their proper form, proportion and size as contained in that book without altering them in any respect. As a verification of this I sign my name, in Mexico, November 19, 1603, Henrico Martinez. The plan which is put on folio 60 should be on 61 and that on 61 should be on 60. They were carelessly changed on account of haste."

(The charts will be reproduced in the next number of this *Quarterly*.)

N. *Ynformacion sobre los méritos y servicios del general Sebastian Vizcaino, que hizo capitulacion para pacificar y poblar las Californias y pesqueria de las perlas, como en efecto lo verificó tomando posesion en nombre de S. M. de aquellas tierras.*

This interesting document, in 1-1-1/30 No. 3, contains the testimony of Bolaños, Peguero, Benitez, Alarcon, Fr. Andrés de la Asumpcion and Miguel Luis de la Peña, given in Mexico between September 16 and October 1, 1603. Eight interrogatories were put to the witnesses by Vizcaino regarding his operations and each of the above gave some account of the expedition, without, however, adding anything of value to the information given by Vizcaino himself or by Father Antonio. The chief interest of the document consists in the information given regarding Vizcaino's activities before setting out.

O. Although Enrico Martinez did not accompany Vizcaino he gave in his evidence July 30, 1629, before Alvarez Serrano a very good account of the expedition. Beside him and Father Antonio none of the other witnesses had anything to say about it except the Conde del Valle. The Conde had been shipwrecked in Japan in 1609 when the *San Francisco* went ashore. In the following year he left there in a ship which the Japanese Emperor had given him. Bolaños (he calls him Pedro) was the pilot; there were also two sailors on board who had been with Vizcaino. These, he stated, gave him a long account of the journey, very little of which he embodied in his testimony. He alleged that Vizcaino was incompetent.

THE COLLATERAL REFERENCES

The correspondence of the viceroys covering this period is contained in the following files of

1587-1588	58-3-10
1589-1594	58-3-11
1595-1597	58-3-12
1598-1601	58-3-13
1602-1603	58-3-14
1604-1606	58-3-15.

Vizcaino's letter from Monterey of December 28, 1602, was first printed by Carrasco in his *Documentos* as No. 22. Griffin also published it with a translation in the *Publications*. The official documents, J., K., L., and the explanations in M., were also published by Carrasco as Nos. 28-30.

NOTES

1. See his letter of April 19, 1596, 58-3-12. The Audiencia in Guadalajara made a judicial investigation of the affair.
 2. 58-3-12.
 3. Obregon in his *Cronica* gives some account of an expedition he himself made with his father-in-law, Antonio de Luna, before 1564. With the aid of native divers they obtained some oysters in which a quantity of misshapen pearls was found. Others damaged by fire were obtained from the Indians. Cuevas' ed., page 227.
 4. The above facts have been obtained from the *testimonio* in the archives, 1-1-1/30, and a letter of Moya y Contreras, the viceroy, of January 22, 1585. Although Sanctotis received a confirmation of his license, it seems from an allegation made later by Vizcaino that he did not present it in Mexico. Sanctotis had been employed by the Viceroy to ferret out some frauds, and had accomplished his task very satisfactorily; documents in 60-4-1.
 5. It is reasonably certain that this vessel was one of the ships of the Sanctotis company.
 6. There are other indications in the documents that Sanctotis sent out an expedition under his concession; in fact, he so stated himself.
 7. 1-1-1/30, No. 3.
 8. See his letter, which was intercepted by some English vessel, in Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Vol. III, 560.
 9. One copy of this is in the *testimonio* in 1-1-1/30, and another in the final cedula of October 14, 1595, in 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 17.
 10. These were conducted before Antonio de Morga in the summer and fall of 1594. See his *Relacion* dated Manila, June 8, 1598, 67-6-18. In a note on page 477 of the writer's *Drake's Voyage*, the theory is advanced that Juan de Fuca accompanied Perez del Castillo.
 11. 1-1-1/20, No. 5, R. 17, the original.
 12. Letter of February 29, 1596, 58-3-12.
 13. Notation on the letter of February 29, 1596.
 14. It is simply impossible to identify this cape, but it is almost certain that his observations were at least two degrees too high.
 15. See Vizcaino's letter to the King of February 27, 1597, 58-6-30.
 16. See his letter of February 17, 1597, 141-1-1.
 17. Letter of November 26, 1597, 58-3-12. Maldonado's petition was attached to this letter.
 18. 141-1-1. As this embodies the notations made by the Council on Monterey's letter of November 26, 1597, and as the endorsement directing the president to consult the confessor of the King is a pretty plain indication that this was made by Philip II, who died in September, 1598, the year the *consulta* was given must have been 1598, and not 1595 as the document is dated.
 19. In this he was simply carrying out his instructions. An *entretenido* was an adviser who had no official position, and usually served without pay.
 20. As it transpired later, these documents were all forgeries. The Marqués de Montesclaros, the viceroy, wrote October 28, 1605 (59-1-2), that, suspecting them to be false, he had instituted an investigation, and Palacios had confessed that they were. He was tried for the crime, condemned to be hung, and executed.
 21. 67-3-27. It was read to Vizcaino March 5, and he promised to comply faithfully with the order. It was feared that he would go up the gulf because of his personal interest in the matter. He was directed to sail March 10, or as soon thereafter as possible.
 22. 58-3-14.
 23. Instruction No. 15.
 24. The preceding account of the Viceroy's proceedings is from his letter of May 31, 1602, 58-3-14.
 25. It would be interesting to know to what news he referred. The remark might be construed as confirming the statement of Fray Antonio de la Ascension, that Vizcaino was to look for the Strait of Anian and Quivira.
 26. 58-6-35.
 27. In his original account translated hereafter.
- To make clear just what Vizcaino's instructions were in this matter, translations of two of the paragraphs are here appended.
- "No. 22. The exact command which you carry is to discover, inspect and map all the ports, bays, and *ensenadas*, capes and points from the Cabo de San Lucas to Cabo Mendocino, without failing to bring back a fit clear statement of anything important regarding these. In some meetings which I have held with some expert and experienced persons it has seemed advisable that, once having inspected and discovered Cabo Mendocino, and you have a fair wind and one neither very contrary nor one which by its force might endanger your breaking your masts or losing your rigging, you should employ reasonable diligence in

exploring as far as Cabo Blanco, which is in 44°. As the coast is neither known nor has been seen and in consequence there is nothing certain about it on the maps, if you should find that from Cabo Mendocino to Cabo Blanco it runs towards the west you shall reconnoiter it for a hundred leagues and no more. Having accomplished this, even though the winds be favorable, do not go farther, but take the return route to Cabo San Lucas.

"No. 23. Once having reached the Cabo de San Lucas, after accomplishing the discovery which you have under your charge, if you have wind and it is not from the north and you have sufficient food to accomplish an entry into the Californias you will do so, following the coast from cape to cape, examining the ports and *ensenadas* from the Cabo de San Lucas, entering by the mouth and coming back as far as the Puerto de la Navidad, unless the southwest winds do not give out. In such case, you will take advantage of them, and go on as far as the wind permits, inspecting the quality of the country and the climate, and seeing if the inhabitants, of whom I have heard a great deal, wear clothes or make any show of numbers or of quality, until you reach 37° or at most 38°, unless previously the sea had shown signs for ten or twelve leagues of turning to the east or east-southeast or west or west-southwest. In such a case, when you discover this, no matter where you may be, you will turn about and return to the coast of Navidad or Salagua, inspecting everything as far as the well known ports of this New Spain."

28. 67-6-18. For a good account of this remarkable man see Navarrete's *Bib. Mar.* I, 636.

29. 67-6-18.

30. Rada was one of the first Augustinians to go to the Islands. He wrote a book on latitude and longitude, now lost, which possibly contained this story.

31. Probably Foo-Choo, the Chinese city.

32. This reference to the Cabo de Gata probably accounts for the Agubela de Gata, which in the middle of the seventeenth century appeared on a map showing California as an island.

33. Probably Fray Andrés de Aguirre, who had obtained it from Urdaneta.

34. See Note 5 to Chapter VII.

35. Dated February 16, 1602, and quoted from a copy in the archives in Manila in Alejandro Malaspina's *Viaje político-científico alrededor del Mundo*. Second edition, Madrid, 1885, 195.

36. In his map of 1589, entitled *Maris Pacifici*, the coast runs west from Cabo Mendocino. As we know that maps of Ortelius were found in Mexico somewhat later, it is not unlikely that the Viceroy had one of his atlases issued in 1592 which contains this map and the one of 1587. The origin of these has been discussed by the writer in his *Drake's Voyage*, 490, and in various other places.

STOCKTON TIMES.

VOL. 1.]

STOCKTON, SATURDAY MORNING, MARCH 16, 1850.

[NO. 1.]

STOCKTON TIMES.

THE ACT TO SUPREMACY CERTAIN COURTS. Judgment of the Supreme Court, was published last week in the San Francisco papers. The first section of this act declares that the courts of second and third instance are superceded. Sec. 2 declares "The courts of first instance, heretofore established, and now acting as such, are recognized as existing courts of the state, and shall continue to exercise the powers conferred on them by law, until they shall be superceded as hereinafter provided."

§ 3. Appeals from any judgment of the Court of second, or of first instance, which have heretofore been taken in any cause, civil or criminal, and which remain undecided, and all business of said Court of second and third instance, which has not been disposed of, and all judgments and orders of such last mentioned courts, which have not been examined, are hereby transferred to, and vested in, the Supreme Court.

§ 4. All books, papers and documents, relating to the business of said courts of second and third instance, shall be delivered to the Clerk of the Supreme Court, and be by him kept in his office, subject to order of the Supreme Court.

§ 5. All appeals from any judgment which shall hereafter be made by any court of first instance, shall be taken to and vested in the Supreme Court.

the judge of the whom the judgment was entered, to abide the judgment of the Supreme Court.

§ 10. If the judgment appealed from direct or indirect other than the payment of money, or the execution of a conveyance or other instrument, the execution of the judgment or order shall not be stayed by appeal, unless a writ undertaking be entered into on the part of the appellant, by at least two sureties, and in such amount as the judge of first instance, or one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, shall, on notice to the respondent, after last day, direct to the appellant, as a condition of such undertaking.

§ 12. The undertaking upon the appeal, and the affidavit accompanying it, must be filed with the judge, with whom the judgment or order appealed from was entered.

§ 13. When an appeal shall be taken from any judgment or order of the Court of second or third instance, the appellant shall file with the judge, with whom the judgment or order appealed from was entered, a copy of the judgment or order appealed from, and a copy of the affidavit accompanying it, and a copy of the undertaking.

§ 14. The judge, with whom the judgment or order appealed from was entered, shall, on the filing of the affidavit and undertaking, cause a copy of the judgment or order appealed from, and a copy of the affidavit accompanying it, and a copy of the undertaking, to be filed in the Supreme Court, and to the Clerk of the Supreme Court, and to the Clerk of the Court of second or third instance, and as to all records thereof, and all books and papers applicable also to Alcalde, shall be taken to and vested in the Supreme Court.

THE MINES.—The news from the Southern mines is of the most stirring interest. From all quarters we learn that the miners are doing well. In one instance, three men who struck a placer on the Stanislaus took out 5 lbs. of gold each, in two days, when they were compelled to leave the spot in consequence of a sudden rise in the river. Many new mines have been discovered within the last three weeks, and the lucky adventurers have reaped a golden harvest in a very short time. Notwithstanding the hundreds who are weekly arriving at Stockton, en route for the mountains, there is ample room for thousands more; and it is the opinion of many who are well capable of forming a judgment on the subject, that there will be an immense rush of population hitherward as the year advances. The stockkeepers established on every river are unprovided by the almost confidence, for although latterly prices of staple commodities have been low, in consequence of a peculiar conjunction of circumstances, yet stocks are becoming small and the value of liquors, provisions, and other articles, is steadily rising.

ELECTION.—In accordance with the provisions of an Act passed by the State Legislature, and approved by the Governor, on the 24 inst., an election will be held in each precinct on the 1st of April, 1850, for the following offices:—One Clerk of the Supreme Court; one District Attorney, for each Judi-

Surveyor; one Sheriff; one Recorder; one Assessor; one Coroner; and one Treasurer, for each county.

ROUTES FROM STOCKTON TO THE MINES.—Stockton is now the great centre of business and depot for all the southern mines. Arriving at Stockton, the miner must make the best bargain he can for the conveyance of his freight to the mines. Some go by water a portion of the way, but the route is circuitous and tedious, on account of the numerous bends in the river San Joaquin, and the rapidity of the current, and after reaching the head of water navigation, it will be found that freight is nearly as high as from Stockton direct, by land. The land route is, by all means, the shortest, cheapest and best. Freight is from 20cts to 30cts per pound, according to distances; but when the roads are in better order, the price will be lower. The road during the winter, with the exception of the first five or six miles from Stockton, has been excellent for travelling. This bad portion has been avoided by transporting freight from Stockton by water, to a place higher up, called the French Camp. Henceforth all difficulty in transporting freight, during the rainy season, from Stockton to the mines, direct, will be obviated by the construction of two or three bridges over the sloughs which, in winter, surround Stockton. One very substantial bridge has already been constructed by Mr. C. M. Weber. There are two great routes from Stockton to the mines: one running north, or north-east, towards the Calaveras; Mokelumne and the northern mines, on the tributaries of the Sacramento; and the other running south, or south-east, towards the Stanislaus, Tuolumne, Merced, Mioposa, King's River, and the head-waters of the San Joaquin. Those on the former route are nearest, being from 25 to 75 miles from this place; while those on the other route are from 60 to 200 miles.

§ 36. Whenever a justice of the peace shall have entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office in any county, the office of alcalde within such county shall thenceforth be superseded, and all laws conferring jurisdiction upon alcaldes or relating to their powers and proceedings, or to the powers and duties of their clerks, or other officers, shall as to such county be abolished. The offices of prefect, sub-prefect, regidor, syndics, and their powers and duties shall also cease and determine at the same time.

§ 37. The offices of prefect, sub-prefect, regidor and syndic shall be superseded, and the powers and duties of those officers shall cease and determine in each county, soon as the county judge, and sheriff thereof, shall have been elected and qualified.

§ 38. All suits and proceedings, whether civil or criminal, pending before any alcalde, except such as are referred to in the thirty-fifth section of this act, and all process, judgments, and business connected therewith, and remaining undisposed of, shall at the time mentioned in the last section, be transferred to and vested in any such justice of the peace, who shall thenceforth proceed therein, under the same provisions of law as if such suits had been commenced before him. All books, papers and documents relating to suits or business so transferred, shall be delivered to such justice of the peace, and all process issued by such Alcalde and not returned, shall be executed by the officer to whom it was delivered, and shall be by him returned to such justice of the peace, the same as if it had been issued by him.

(Signed) JOHN BIGLER,

Speaker of the Assembly.

L. KIRBY CHAMBERLIN,

President pro tempore of the Senate.

Approved, February 28, 1850.

PETER H. BURNETT,

Governor of California.

§ 7. To render an appeal hereafter made effectual, a written undertaking must be executed on the part of the appellant, by at least two sureties, to the effect that the appellant will pay all costs and damages which may be awarded against him on the appeal, not exceeding \$500; or that sum must be deposited with the judge of first instance, with whom the judgment or order was entered, to abide the event of the appeal; but such undertaking may be waived by a written consent on the part of the respondent.

§ 8. If the appeal be from a judgment directing the payment of money, it shall not stay the execution of the judgment, unless a written undertaking be executed on the part of the appellant, by two sureties, to the effect that the judgment appealed from, or any part thereof be affirmed, the appellant will pay the amount directed to be paid by the judgment, or the part of such amount as to which the judgment shall be affirmed, if affirmed only in part, and all damages which shall be awarded against the appellant upon the appeal.

§ 9. If the judgment appealed from direct the execution of a conveyance or other instrument, the execution of the judgment shall not be stayed by the appeal until the instrument shall have been executed and deposited with

First page of first issue of the *Stockton Times*, probably printed on the original Ramage Press which served Zamorano at Monterey, from which the *Californian* was printed by Colton and Semple, and which served to print the first issues of the *Placer Times* at Sacramento, and — after its sojourn at Stockton — to produce the *Sonora Herald* and the *Columbia Star*. The newspaper here reproduced in exact size was in all probability the first in the San Joaquin Valley and the first at Stockton, *entrepot* of the Southern Mines. Its small format is particularly to be noted. The original is in the collection of Boutwell Dunlap, one of the Directors of this Society, to whom we are indebted for allowing this reproduction.

AN INTRODUCTION AND SUPPLEMENT TO "A HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA NEWSPAPERS"

By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE

The history of the printing press in any community constitutes, to a considerable degree, the cultural history of that community. Usually, however, the materials for such a history are scanty and interest in the collection of data on which such a history may be based is not manifested until so long after the events connected with the beginnings of the press have taken place, that much of the information is irretrievably lost.

California, however, is a marked exception to the general rule for, almost from its birth, the press was articulate regarding its own record. It was on August 15, 1846, as is well known, that the first California newspaper appeared at Monterey. In San Francisco [then Yerba Buena] the first news sheet: *An Extra in Advance of the California Star*, appeared on October 24, 1846, but the regular issues of the *Star* did not begin until January 9, 1847.

Bearing these dates in mind, it is little short of phenomenal that an article on the history of early California printing should appear in the *Alta California* of November 23, 1851, under the title of "The Old Pioneer Press," which traced the migrations from place to place of the old wooden press used at Monterey by Zamorano and on which Semple and Colton later printed the *Californian*. A list of Pacific coast newspapers had appeared in the same newspaper on March 9, 1850, but the article of 1851 showed a keen appreciation of the historic importance of this ancient printing press. After doing valiant duty at Monterey it was moved to San Francisco; next it went to Sacramento to print the first issues of the *Placer Times*; then to Stockton to produce the first fruits of the art typographic in that town: the early issues of the *Stockton Times*. Though it might now have earned a well-deserved retirement, it moved again to Sonora where, on July 4, 1850, it was used to print the first issue of the *Sonora Herald*. Its last migration was to Columbia where it met its end under rather tragic circumstances. It had not been paid for in full, and it was distrained by its former proprietor and repossessed. The iron parts were taken indoors but the old wooden frame was left out over night, during the course of which a crowd of local vandals, probably instigated by the purchaser who did not or could not pay for it, kindled a fire under it, and the historic timbers went up in smoke.

There appeared in the *Weekly Mail* of San Francisco, late in 1854, an article entitled: "The Press of California — Its Origin and Present Condition," which was reprinted in the *Sacramento Union* of November 17, of the same year. According to this article there were at that time fifty-seven newspapers and periodicals being published in California with an average aggregate circulation of two hundred and eighty thousand papers per week. This, it was computed, nearly amounted to one paper per week for every man, woman, and child then in the state. With excusable pride, it concludes thus: "Can any part of the

world show such a reading community and such liberal patrons to the press? These facts are not only instructive, but highly gratifying and honorable to our people, and are, therefore, worthy of being recorded."

Some notes on California newspapers made in January, 1855, which accompanied a collection of far western newspapers made by A. S. Taylor and deposited in the San Francisco Mercantile Library, pointed out that the proportion of newspapers to white inhabitants was two to one greater in California than in most other states of the Union.

During the summer of 1854, there appeared in the *Pioneer Magazine* of San Francisco, edited by F. C. Ewer, an article on "The Press of California."

The most remarkable record, however, was yet to come. In its issue of December 25, 1858, the *Sacramento Daily Union* printed "A History of California Newspapers" which occupied no less than thirty-three columns of the paper, much of it set in solid six point. The magnitude of this undertaking from the points of view of both editorial compilation and typographical production, can be judged from the fact that its text, in a book of normal format, runs to 295 pages. The authorship of this document of such great importance in the cultural history of California was not stated in the issue, but it is known to have been prepared by E. C. Kemble, one of the pioneers in newspaper publishing in the state. He had been the editor and publisher of the *Star and Californian*, the paper which resulted from the merger of the two first newspapers in California, the initial issue of which under the joint name appeared November 18, 1848. This was metamorphosed, with the issue of January 4, 1849, into the *Alta California*, the great newspaper of early California, rivalled only, though later, by the *Sacramento Union*. The proprietors of the paper were now E. Gilbert, E. C. Kemble and C. G. Hubbard. During 1853, while Kemble was abroad for a year in Europe, the paper was mismanaged and became insolvent, though it had been previously a highly profitable enterprise, and in January of 1855, it was sold to new owners. It may here be noted that the first article on California newspaper history appeared in the *Alta California* of November 23, 1851, during Kemble's active association with that newspaper. In view of his later interests, we may probably credit that article also to him.

Meanwhile Kemble and his partners on the *Alta* had furnished the equipment for and established the *Placer Times* at Sacramento, the first issue of which appeared April 28, 1849, published by E. C. Kemble & Co. In 1850 the property was sold to Messrs. Pickering, Lawrence, and Aldrich.

After the failure of the *Alta California* already described, Kemble went east and published in New York a journal known as the *Californian*, the object of which was to stimulate emigration to California, but this project was soon abandoned. He thereafter returned to Sacramento where we find him associated with the *Sacramento Daily Union* at the time its great article on early California newspaper history appeared.

It will be seen, therefore, that Kemble had played a part of no small importance in the making of California newspaper history and he was evidently intimately familiar with many of the circumstances regarding which he wrote

so competently and explicitly. California historians will always owe him a debt of gratitude for setting down the facts while they were still to be had.

To the newspapers with whose record Kemble was not acquainted at first hand, a printed questionnaire appears to have been sent out, asking the following questions:

1. How many newspapers or periodicals have been published in.....?
2. What were their names and the names of the proprietors and editors?
3. When was each commenced, and how often and how long published?
4. What was the nationality and denomination of each, if political or religious?
5. What peculiar circumstances attended the origin or lives of either?

It is further apparent from the text of the history that extensive use was made of actual files of the papers whose careers are recorded.

The existence of this very remarkable contribution to American printing history was first called to my attention by Mr. Henry Lewis Bullen, Curator of the Typographical Library and Museum of the American Type Founders Company in Jersey City, in whose collection was preserved a copy of the issue of the *Union* of December 25, 1858. There are in existence, of course, very few copies of this issue, and the text of the history is, therefore, almost inaccessible to most of the students of typographical and journalistic history. For these reasons I believed it would be of service to reprint in book form the text of the *Union* article. I secured through Mr. Bullen's courtesy a photostatic production of the original and used this as typesetter's copy. The article made a duodecimo volume of 295 pages, as already intimated, which appeared under the following title:

A History of California Newspapers. Being a contemporary chronicle of early printing and publishing on the Pacific Coast. Reprinted for the first time from the *Sacramento Daily Union* of December 25, 1858. Being the account of early American Printing and Publishing written soonest after the events it chronicles. Edited, with an introduction, by Douglas C. McMurtrie. Plandome Press, Imprinted at New York, N. Y. MCMXXVII.

It will be noted that this little page calls for an introduction by the present writer. This introduction, containing essentially the same facts as have been set forth in the present note, was set in type but, during the printing of the volume, which took place after my departure from New York, it was, through some oversight, omitted in the printing. Through the courtesy of the California Historical Society, I am enabled here to supply that deficiency, and provide some added information not in the text of the original introduction, which I gathered on a recent visit to the principal storehouses of California: The California State Library at Sacramento, the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, and the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino.† I have also been enabled

†I desire to acknowledge the courteous assistance of Mr. Milton J. Ferguson and Miss Eudora Garoutte of the California State Library, of Prof. Herbert E. Bolton and Mrs. Stevens of the Bancroft Library, and of Messrs. Leslie E. Bliss, Robert O. Schad, and Willard O. Waters of the Henry E. Huntington Library. At the Bancroft Library I discovered what I believe to be new evidence regarding the date of the first known printing in California, which I shall hope to publish in the near future.

through the courtesy of Boutwell Dunlap of San Francisco, who brought to light the only known copy of it, to supply the exact date of the *Extra in Advance of the California Star*, which was not known to Kemble and which has not yet, I believe, been recorded in the historical literature.

This occasion gives me also the opportunity to present some material supplementary to the volume already referred to. After the publication of the original article there were received two letters modifying to some extent several statements made by Kemble. These were printed in the *Union* of March 4, 1859. To make the record complete they are here transcribed in full:

New York, Feb. 4, 1859.

In the "History of California Newspapers," published in the *Daily Union*, of December 25th, I find statements and insinuations made in reference to me, personally, which are not true. My friendly relations with each and all of the proprietors of the *Union* are sufficient to warrant me in believing that you would not, knowingly, place me in a false position. I would, therefore, respectfully ask you to allow me to vindicate myself by publishing the following statement of facts in your valuable paper. Your compiler, speaking of the starting of the *Daily California Chronicle*, says:

"The type and material on which the *Chronicle* appeared, had been ordered by the proprietors of the *Alta California*, through Wm. L. Newell (one of the *Chronicle* company), who had solicited said order for a Boston firm of type makers, of which he was the agent, etc., * * * and when the type arrived refused to give it up to them."

The facts are these: The *Alta* required a new dress. The proprietors had neither credit nor money to order one themselves. I said I would order one on my own credit and responsibility. I sent the order to John K. Rogers & Co., of Boston, who knew me personally. They filled the order for me and held me responsible, and no one else, for the payment for the same. They would not ship it in the name of the proprietors of the *Alta*, but did so in my name. I stated in my letter to John K. Rogers & Co., that I would remit in full by the first Pacific mail steamship that should sail after the arrival, in the harbor of San Francisco, of the vessel having on board the office. After I retired from the *Alta* establishment, and before the arrival of the vessel, I offered the invoice to the proprietors of the *Alta*, through their business man, D. A. McDermott, stating, in my offer, that they should pay me the original cost and charges, with a fair commission added for the use of my credit or money, and for attending to the business. They kept me waiting without stating whether they intended to take the office or not, until the arrival of the vessel having on board the same. This offer remained open for two or three months. There appeared to be a desire either to throw the office on my hands, or get it, if possible, without paying for it. I stated distinctly and publicly, that I would start an opposition paper if they did not take the office and pay for it. The proprietors of the *Alta* were cognizant of these facts. On the arrival of the vessel containing the office, I wrote to E. Gilbert & Co., stating that the office had arrived, and that I was ready and willing to deliver it on the full payment to me for the same, with my commissions added thereto. I furthermore stated in this note that the offer would remain open for a stated number of days, and if they did not take it within the time specified, I should take it on my own account. The proprietors of the *Alta* failed to come down with the money, and at the expiration of the time (the day before the sailing of the steamer), I took the office myself and remitted for the same by the next day's steamer, as I had promised to do so in my letter to John N. Rogers & Co. By the terms

proposed by me to the proprietors of the *Alta* the office would have cost them a little over \$2,500. I sold it to Frank Soule & Co. for \$3,000, and it was cheap at that price. Various attempts were made to get me to deliver a portion of the material to the proprietors of the *Alta*, hoping thereby to force the delivery of the whole without paying for the same. I refused to be caught in the trap.

Again your compiler says: "It may have been concerted between Newell and his associates, while in their old place, to withdraw from the *Alta*, and build up a new paper, which should overthrow it." So far as I am personally concerned, this insinuation is without foundation. Mr. Gray, one of the present proprietors of the *Union*, is one of the parties referred to in the above sentence, and can state whether he was a party to, or cognizant of any such movement previous to leaving the *Alta* establishment. It must be that Mr. Gray did not see these statements before publication, or he certainly would have corrected them, as he is, or was, familiar with most of the facts which I have stated. The person who gave the assumed information to your compiler either did not know the circumstances of which he presumed to speak, and heard the mis-statements, or else he furnished it for the purpose of gratifying his malice by asserting what he knew to be false.

In justice to the memory of the lamented Gilbert, I would state that these transactions occurred after his death. The name of the firm, however, remained unchanged at the head of the *Alta*.

WM. L. NEWELL

Washington, D. C. Jan. 31, 1859

EDITORS. UNION: In reading your highly interesting "History of California Journalism," published on the 25th of Dec. 1858, I discovered one or two errors in connection with my own name, which, though trivial, perhaps, you will permit me to correct.

The statement that I was a *partner* with Crane & Rice in the proprietorship of the San Francisco *Courier*, in 1851, is a mistake. In January of that year I became an associate editor of that journal; and having made preliminary arrangements for its entire transfer to me within a few months, I returned to the East in April, with the view of taking my family to California and establishing myself there. The fire of May, '51, which burned up the *Courier* establishment, made it impossible to carry out my purpose.

It is true that the journal which, through your energy and industry, directed by practical talent, has become an "institution," was started with the type taken to California by myself; but the enterprising gentlemen who purchased it for that purpose did not seek to obtain it "at a sacrifice," but paid its full value, together with cost of transportation *via* the Chagres river and Isthmus of Panama.

May I be permitted to add that my esteemed friend, Dr. J. F. Morse, with much too modest appreciation of his own abilities, was with difficulty prevailed upon to undertake the duties of the editorial chair, and for a fortnight, nearly, insisted that I should do so in his stead. Unfortunately for myself—but quite the reverse, possibly, for the journal whose "small beginning" we are noting—there were considerations of duty which compelled me to decline; and Dr. Morse, finally, consented to waive his personal comfort, silence and murmurings of his unwilling judgment, and assume the duties which he discharged so acceptably and with so much success.

Trusting that, in pursuance of a long cherished purpose, I shall speedily resume my home in California, and meet you again as a brother journalist, I am,

Very truly yours,

JAMES W. SIMONTON.

SOUVENIRS OF AN INTERESTING FAMILY

There has lately been installed in the rooms of the California Historical Society a small but attractive collection which those interested in the early stage in San Francisco will especially enjoy. The collection consists of pictures, letters and documents, manuscript poems, theater programs, newspaper cuttings and a few other articles, all pertaining to the Chapman family and their stage contemporaries. It is loaned to the Society by Mrs. Belle Chapman Hawley, herself an actress, and granddaughter, daughter and niece of the family of actors and actress who, associated at first with the Booths, the Bakers, Mrs. Judah and Lotta Crabtree, illumined the California stage in the 'fifties and at intervals from then on until death claimed them. Most of them found a last resting place in Lone Mountain Cemetery in San Francisco.

The Chapmans were a notable family, gracing the English stage for generations before they came to America. One of the name, and reputed to be of the lineage, was a member of Shakespeare's company. Samuel Chapman, the grandfather of Mrs. Hawley, was for thirty years manager of the Theater Royal, Covent Garden, London. He, with members of his large family, also acted there. Old playbooks which belonged to him are dated 1788 and '89, with his name or that of his father in the original casts. A program of the same theater, dated March third, 1827, also has his name in the cast of characters. It must have been soon after this that he brought his family to America, including his wife, sons, Samuel, Jr., William B. and George, and daughters, Sarah and Caroline. A son, Bernard, and daughter, Elizabeth, remained in England.

The repertory of this family was varied. They played tragedies, high-class comedies, even farces, with sometimes a song and dance between acts. They were at home with Shakespeare down to the latest generation. "Believe me!" Mrs. Hawley recently said of her day, "we all knew our Shakespeare."

They played to enthusiastic audiences in eastern cities and towns. Samuel Jr. and his brother, William, became the first managers of the Walnut Street Theater in Philadelphia and they also played in the company. Samuel married Elizabeth, sister of Joseph Jefferson. Riding to the theater one day on horseback, his horse fell with him and his leg was so badly broken that the doctor decided that amputation was necessary. "Cut my leg off? Never! I'll die first," Samuel replied, and he was as good as his word. He was so loved and respected that the citizens of Philadelphia erected a monument to his memory. As a child he had played Prince Arthur in King John with Mrs. Siddons in the London theater of which his father was manager.

Though successful in their various rôles, it was difficult to find engagements which could include the whole family and Samuel Sr. was determined to keep them together. At last, after successful trials with a flatboat on the Mississippi, he embarked them all in a palatial steamboat which he had had built for the purpose, fitted as a theater below, with a commodious home for them all on the upper decks. "Chapman's Floating Palace," he named it. On this boat their dual

rôles were carried on: below the mimic life was enacted, while above they loved, were married, some of them died (including the grandmother) and children were born and raised, so many of an age that the mothers hardly knew their own, but tended impartially the baby nearest in the intervals allowed by acting and getting up their parts.

One afternoon in March, 1838, as the steamer lay along the levee at Jackson, Mississippi, Miss Sarah Chapman and William Hamilton, an Englishman who was a member of the company, came down the gangplank together. When they returned they were man and wife. Their marriage certificate, signed by the Justice of Peace who united them, is an item of the collection, as well as Mr. Hamilton's declaration of intention to become a citizen of the United States and his later certificate of citizenship.

George Chapman was married on the boat to a member of the company whose maiden name was Mary Ross, at that time a widow, Mrs. Parks. They were the parents of Mrs. Hawley.

The vessel plied up and down the Mississippi and its tributaries, drawing up to a wharf and throwing out a gangplank wherever it seemed likely that an audience could be gathered. The company did its own billing, they, themselves, tacking the programs, written by Mrs. William Chapman, to neighboring trees. The enterprise was successful financially and in family remembrance the life seems almost idyllic. Actually it must have had its drawbacks. At any rate, it came to an end.

Mr. and Mrs. George Chapman were the first of the family to come to California, arriving in 1849. They gave a play in San Francisco in 1850, in a hall on Washington Street over a building just back of the office of the *Alta California*. Not being able to get a good company together, they went on to Sacramento and opened a theater on Front Street. There they were playing when the fire of November, 1852, devastated the town. When it was reported that the hospital was burning Mr. Chapman led his company to the blazing building and they carried the helpless inmates to the safety of his theater on the water front. Mrs. Chapman wrapped the destitute patients in the silks and velvets of her stage wardrobe. The next day she wrote an account of the fire for the *Alta California*, to which she was an occasional contributor as well as to the *Golden Era*. Actress and writer as she was, she found time also to raise a large family of children.

Returning to San Francisco, George Chapman was associated with Junius Brutus Booth, Jr., in opening the American Theater. Both George Chapman and his wife died in San Francisco and are buried in Lone Mountain Cemetery.

In 1852 the rest of the family had come to California — William B. Chapman and his wife, William B. Hamilton and his wife, Sarah, and her sister, Caroline Chapman. They played in Sacramento, in San Jose, at the mines, and in San Francisco in the American Theater, Maguire's Opera House, The Metropolitan Theater and others; some of them leased and managed by one or more of the family and at least two of them in conjunction with Junius Booth, Jr.

William Chapman, popularly known as "Uncle Billy," was primarily a comedian and possessed an infinite fund of humor. In his later life he excelled in old men's parts. He died in San Francisco in 1858 and lies with his kin at the foot of Lone Mountain. Newspaper notices at the time of his passing speak of the hosts of friends in California and throughout the Union who, with his household and kindred, mourned his loss. The citizens of San Francisco gave his widow and children a monstrous benefit with tickets sold to admit to any theater in the city.

William Chapman was married in England. His wife was Phoebe Taylor, a graduate of an Academy of Music in London and a fine musician. She was the first organist of Old St. Mary's church on the corner of California and Dupont streets. Having little sheet music at the time, she often transposed into appropriate pieces music originally intended for the theater. With her two surviving boys she went east after her husband's death. One son, Frank M., is living in Brooklyn, New York. When a child he took the part of Prince Arthur in *King John* with Julia Dean, and another child's part with the elder Booth at the Jenny Lind Theater in San Francisco. In later life he was a manager and producer with such stars as Fanny Davenport, Mary Anderson and Joseph Jefferson.

William B. Hamilton was associated with his brothers-in-law in their theatrical enterprises, and in at least one theater with Junius Booth, Jr. With his family (a large one and nearly all born on the Floating Palace) he remained in San Francisco until 1859. They then travelled through the Southern states until the Civil War compelled their return to the north. After playing a short time in New York and Philadelphia, they returned to San Francisco. Mr. Hamilton died in London, his birthplace, in 1868, whither he had gone for an operation for cancer. He was said to be a quiet, unassuming man who possessed an inexhaustible fund of general information and was greatly esteemed by all who knew him. His wife, Sarah Chapman, survived him until 1871. She is buried where most of her kindred lie. According to her niece, Sarah was plain of face, but so fine a tragedienne that when she trod the boards as Lady Macbeth or Queen Elizabeth her plainness was altogether forgotten. The crown she wore as Queen Elizabeth rests beside her marriage certificate in the Chapman collection. Several children outlived her. One, William H. Hamilton, died a few years ago in Napa, aged eighty-three. In 1852 he played in the old Jenny Lind Theater in San Francisco, taking the part of the boy, Fleance, in *Macbeth*. His mother was Lady Macbeth; Junius Brutus Booth, *Macbeth*; Junius Brutus Booth, Jr., *Macduff*, and Malcolm was played by Edwin Booth. Of John Wilkes Booth, Hamilton said: "He was called 'Crazy John' by all the stage people, and many of them would not go on the stage with him. We always thought he would kill someone." There are pictures of Junius Booth, Jr., and of Edwin Booth taken in 1858, in the collection. At one time William H. Hamilton was a pony express rider for Wells, Fargo & Company, between Reno and Virginia City. His sister, Caroline Hamilton, named for her aunt,

Caroline Chapman, died at an advanced age a few months ago in Napa. When a small child she was the first female impersonator of "Eva" in San Francisco. The first in San Francisco to essay the rôle was Edwin Thorne, who at the age of seven played the part to the Uncle Tom of Junius Booth, Jr.

A fine daguerreotype of William Hamilton and his wife, Caroline Chapman and little Caroline Hamilton is one of the exhibits, and close by is a sampler of intricate workmanship, but sadly marred by time, wrought by the skillful fingers of Lola Montez and given by her to little Caroline.

Perhaps the most famous and greatest favorite of the Chapman family was Caroline. She was an exquisite dancer and a versatile actress of great ability, equally good in tragedy, comedy or burlesque. In one play she took seven parts in twenty minutes with perfect success. There are pictures of her in the collection, programs in which she appeared, letters, and poems of welcome and farewell addressed to her by glad or sorrowful admirers. She died in San Francisco in 1876 and is buried with her kindred.

This family brought to America traditions of the best school of English acting. They were pioneers of the drama in the states bordering on the Mississippi and the Ohio. Some, if not all of them, shed their genial rays in Oregon and Washington, but California can fully claim to have been their home.

HELEN THROOP PRATT.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A History of California Newspapers (reprint from *Sacramento Daily Union*, Dec. 25, 1858), New York, the Plandome Press, 1927, pp. xiv+281.

The Introduction prepared for this reprint by Douglas C. McMurtrie, the well-known authority on printing, was omitted by the publishers through error. To this Society is given the pleasure of publishing this Introduction in another part of this issue of the *Quarterly*. In it the contents of this volume are thoroughly described, and while it is unfortunate that the book did not contain this Introduction—for the benefit of all its readers—it is nevertheless a matter of gratification that this most important history of early California journalism has now once more seen the light of day. In its present form it will be available to many students who might otherwise not even have become aware of its existence.

CARL I. WHEAT.

Oregon Geographic Names. By Lewis A. McArthur. Portland: 1928. xii, 450 pages, illustrations.

Place name books may be roughly classified as etymological studies, dictionaries, and encyclopedias. To the first class belong most of the place name publications of Great Britain, where names grew naturally out of the language of the inhabitants. In America, however, names of places, excepting those of Indian origin, were ready made at the time they were placed as labels upon the respective localities. The study of American nomenclature is, therefore, much more concerned with the circumstances of the naming than with the linguistic structure of the name. In the case of Indian names, our limited knowledge of the origin of root-words makes etymological elaborations so highly speculative that we are usually content with a bare translation of the word. Without the stimulation to scholarship that comes from linguistic studies, most American works on place names have been issued as mere lists of names with their most obvious meaning or derivation boldly set down opposite them. This is the dictionary class.

Out of the close relationship between geographic names and the history of exploration and settlement has come the third class of place name publications, the encyclopedic. Here we find, not only the meaning of the name, but the reason for its bestowal and something about the person, place, object, or incident which suggested it. Almost as important as the information itself is the source of the information and its authority. It is to this third class that McArthur's *Oregon Geographic Names* belongs.

We need only to open Mr. McArthur's book to perceive how fascinating the subject can be made. One glance leads to another, and before we realize it we are deep in the history of Oregon. Naturally, we turn first to the name "Oregon" itself. Here we find a critical study of the unsolved question of its origin with

the conclusion that the name originated in the Mississippi Valley and not on the Pacific Coast. Perhaps we next seek for an explanation of "Willamette," which looks French, but is probably Indian, although "there are many theories about the matter." Not all Oregon names are obscure, however. The varied application of names to the Cascade Range is set forth very fully; the naming of the settlement of Portland is described circumstantially; the name "Walla Walla" is, by duplication, the diminutive of "Walla," meaning "running water." Perhaps the most shining examples of Mr. McArthur's scholarship are the comments on the names of coast landmarks. Here a personal touch is added to the scientific interest of the author, for his own grandfather, William P. McArthur, an officer of the U. S. Navy, was engaged in charting the Oregon coast for the U. S. Coast Survey in 1849-1850.

For a number of years Mr. McArthur has been at work compiling information about the geography and history of Oregon. As an engineer, he has taken a keen interest in the surveys and topographic mapping of the state; to such an extent, indeed, that some of his personal work has had the rare compliment of being accepted as conclusive by federal agencies and incorporated in their official maps. Mr. McArthur has, moreover, been a frequent contributor to the publications of the Oregon Historical Society and to the Portland *Oregonian*. Through these publications he has developed much of the material now revised and expanded into book form.

An examination of this book makes us wish that our own state might be similarly served. When that time comes, let us hope it will be done with the same combination of broad experience and well directed erudition that have made McArthur's *Oregon Geographic Names* a model for works of this kind.

FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR.

The Bret Harte Legend. By George Stewart, Jr., in *University of California Chronicle*, July, 1928.

Appropriately enough the writer of this article begins it with the platitude: "Myth making did not perish with the Greeks." In his own effort we have an example of incipient myth making in his attempt to create an alleged "legend," for the "legend" itself is a creation of his own imagination. True, Harte himself was a trifle hazy on the minor experiences of part of his life in California. But none of his friends ever mistook him for anything but what he was, an intellectual man among surroundings of pioneer life with which he was unfitted by temperament and training to adjust himself physically. But imaginatively he was the only man of his time who saw the romance of the early days and had the genius to wed it to undying prose and verse.

The period of this alleged "legend" covers probably about two years. This was the period when Harte found himself at loose ends in a state that was only finding itself. It would be strange if he had not tried all sorts of jobs, and had met with all sorts of experiences to which he was little suited. A few writing friends may have exaggerated these experiences. He never did. Nor in the fifty

years of his literary life did he ever pose as a red-necked, rip-roaring, two-gun, red-shirted, Jesse-James-and-Dead-Eye-Dick hellion, as the writer of this article claims his grandson suggests. Nor does the grandson's introduction to Bret Harte's Letters suggest such a character to the intelligent reader. Harte's short experiences in the mountains of California were an episode only serving to kindle his imagination, and bear fruit in his pictures.

Moreover, to the undersigned, Professor Stewart's references to Harte's later financial state seem cynical rather than critical. Harte died solvent. He made money, and he spent it. That he did not leave a fortune was his affair. He had the respect of all who ever came into contact with him, and his writings reveal a man of sensitive nature. California has done little enough in encouraging its native talents. Harte had a wider field, because he spoke a universal language.

DAVID ANDERSON.

NEW MEMBERS

Clark, Arthur H., Cleveland, Ohio
Greely, Mrs. Donnell, Yuba City
Huber, Mrs. Walter L., San Francisco
Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach
Marvin, William G., Los Altos
Watson, Douglas S., San Francisco
Wiley, Hugh, Los Altos

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held its June, 1928, luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, the nineteenth. Mr. Carl I. Wheat was the speaker; his subject, "Fact vs. Fancy in California's History."

He took as his text two recent works of fiction that masqueraded as representations of California life, Blaise Cendrars' "Sutter's Gold" and "The Wolf Cub: the Great Adventure of Count Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon in California and Sonora 1850-54," by Maurice Soulie. After paying his respects to the ignorance of the geography of the country exhibited by the authors, he told briefly the story of Sutter's arrival and his early efforts to establish himself. The recital made evident the absurdity of the descriptions of life and surroundings in the book. Cendrars was shown to have had even less knowledge of his hero's life and ambitions than he had of Western geography. At the same time, Mr. Wheat brought to mind a picture more interesting, and full of adventure as exciting, if not as fantastic, as any in Cendrars' book.

Passing from Sutter's life and adventures to some less known instances of courage, endurance and daring, Mr. Wheat showed the many opportunities open, to base works of fiction on authenticated records, that would equal or outdo the fancies of Cendrars and Soulie. He then made a stirring plea for sound historical investigation by both writers and readers, urging the critical examination of authorities on western events as giving reward to the reader seeking romance, above any to be found in such works as those to which he first alluded.

There were about forty-five members and guests present.

No luncheon meeting was held in July.

On Tuesday, August twenty-first, 1928, the Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel. Honorable Frank L. Coombs spoke. His subject was "Historic, Reminiscent, and Otherwise."

Mr. Coombs' grandfather was William Gordon, a trapper who had lived in New Mexico before coming to California. Mr. Coombs showed a receipt dated 1826 which had been preserved from this era. Gordon came to California in 1844 from New Mexico and the next year came north, settling in 1843 on a ranch granted him on Cache Creek. Mr. Coombs' father, Nathan Coombs, came to California in 1843 and shortly afterwards was married at Sutter's Fort. Mr. Coombs gave a brief description of this event. He touched on the life of the early days and also on the time of his boyhood in the Napa Valley after California had settled down from the first excitement of the gold rush. There was a brief allusion to a great barbecue held in Chiles Valley at which most of the inhabitants of Napa Valley were present, which would have been worthy of a more extensive description. Mr. Coombs then passed on to later experiences of his life which led him away from California. There were about forty-three members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

IN MEMORIAM

TIREY LAFAYETTE FORD

On June 26, 1928, the California Historical Society lost one of its most enthusiastic and distinguished members, when Tirey Lafayette Ford, Attorney, Senator, Historian, Orator, Bohemian — but above all, Californian — passed away at his apartment in the Pacific-Union Club.

He was born 71 years ago in Monroe County, Missouri, coming to California as a youth of 19, and upon his arrival was associated for a number of years with his uncle, Hugh Glenn, a one-time candidate for Governor and the man after whom Glenn County was named.

In 1882 he was admitted to the Bar and established himself at Downieville, where he was later elected District Attorney and then Senator from Sierra and Nevada counties. At San Francisco in 1888 he married Emma Byington, daughter of the Hon. Lewis Byington of Downieville and sister of our Sesqui-Centennial orator, the Hon. Lewis F. Byington. In 1890 Mr. Ford was attorney for the State Board of Harbor Commissioners at San Francisco, and in 1898 he became Attorney General of California.

Notwithstanding his many duties, he found time to serve on the State Board of Prison Directors and to publish many magazine articles and several books, the last of which, "Dawn and the Dons," an account of Monterey, appeared shortly before his death. He was a member of many clubs, including the Bohemian, Press, Union League, Transportation, Southern, and Pacific-Union of San Francisco, and the Sutter Club of Sacramento. A daughter, Mrs. Samuel F. B. Morse, and two sons, Captain Byington Ford and Tirey L. Ford, Jr., survive him.

Seldom have Californians honored a man with their love and respect in numbers such as called Tirey Ford "friend," and never was a man more worthy of the words:

"Light lie the Earth, upon his dear dead heart
And dreams disturb him never
Be deeper peace than Paradise his part
Forever and forever."

A. T. LEONARD, JR.

IN MEMORIAM

ELEANOR MARTIN

EDITOR'S NOTE: The recent death of Mrs. Eleanor Martin in San Francisco has taken from this Society its oldest and one of its most enthusiastic members. She was woman grown when gold was found on the American; she came to see her distinguished brother made Governor of California; she outlived all but a handful of her contemporaries, and for many years she literally trod "a banquet hall deserted." To few is given a life of more than a century, and few centuries have been as rich as was hers in human progress. Senator Phelan, who has contributed this brief account of her life, was a close personal friend.

Eleanor Martin was born in September, 1826, at Castle Sampson, near Athlone, County Roscommon, Ireland. Her family name was Downey. When seven years of age, with her mother and two brothers, John G. and Patrick, and sister Annie, she came to America and settled in Bryantown, Charles County, Maryland. Her brother, John G. Downey, studied medicine in Washington, D. C., and came to California in 1854, setting in Los Angeles. In 1857 Mrs. Martin came to California via the Isthmus of Panama with her sister Annie and brother Patrick. They joined their brother John G. and settled in Los Angeles, which was an old California city and the home-place of the Hispano-Californian families.

At that time there was a United States Army post at Wilmington, now a part of San Pedro. Among the young officers were Winfield Scott Hancock, John M. Young, and others who, in later life, played conspicuous parts in the Civil War. General Hancock later was presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, and General Young died only a few years ago with the rank of Lieutenant General. Albert Sydney Johnson was then the Military Commander of the division of California, while William T. Sherman was a young man in charge of the California banking house of Lucas, Turner & Company of St. Louis. They afterwards became distinguished figures in the Civil War. Stephen J. Field was then on our State Supreme Bench, and was later appointed by President Lincoln a member of the Supreme Court of the United States. These gentlemen, and others who later became celebrated, were the friends of Eleanor Martin's early days in California.

In 1858 she married Walter H. Harvey, who had preceded her to California from Georgia in 1846. By that marriage there survives her son, John Downey Harvey. Major Harvey died in 1861, and in 1869 she married Edward Martin of San Francisco, a widower with six children, of whom only one, Mrs. Walker of Washington, D. C., survives. Mrs. Martin by this marriage had three sons, Peter D., Walter S., and Andrew D. Martin. Of them, Walter S. Martin is the only survivor. Edward Martin was prominent in the business life of San Francisco. He was one of the organizers and Secretary of the Hibernia Savings and Loan Society, and was a Director of The First National Bank. He had large interests in Oregon and Southern California. Mr. Martin died in 1880, and Mrs. Martin took over the management of these affairs. In Los Angeles, Riverside and Orange counties were large tracts of land, on which are now the towns of

Whittier, Riverside and Santa Ana and the immense oil fields in that section. They were known as the Stearns Ranchos.

Her brother, John G. Downey, was Governor of California in the early '60's and always filled a prominent position in the political and business affairs of the state. Great acclaim was given to him when he vetoed the Bulkhead Bill, which attempted to turn over the waterfront of San Francisco to a private corporation for 99 years. Governor Downey died in 1894. Her brother Patrick died in 1861. Her sister Annie Downey, who died in 1896, married Peter Donahue in 1862, a widower with two children, Mary Ellen, who became Baroness Von Schroder and died two years ago, and James Mervyn Donahue, who died in 1890. Peter Donahue was the founder, with his brother James, of the Union Iron Works, the Omnibus Street Railroad, the first street railway in San Francisco, and the San Jose Railroad, which ran from Twelfth and Valencia Streets to San Jose and later to Gilroy. This was the second railroad to be built in California. In this enterprise associated with him were H. M. Newhall, Charles Mein, and C. B. Polhemus. It is now part of the Southern Pacific system. He also built the railroad running from Tiburon up through Sonoma Valley to Ukiah, and with his brother was the founder of the San Francisco Gas Company, precursor of the great Pacific Gas and Electric Company's system in California.

Mrs. Martin's social life was spent chiefly within her own home educating her children in their youth. She saw many changes in California from 1857 to 1928. She went through the periods of the Civil War, the Spanish-American War and our last World War, and in that time many of the men who became distinguished have come to California and enjoyed the hospitality of her home. Among the men of our own history entertained at her home were Presidents Taft, McKinley, and Roosevelt, as well as other eminent personages of the Army and Navy. Mr. Martin, her second husband, came to California in 1849 and was a member of the Society of California Pioneers, her son, Walter S. Martin, being a member of the Society through his father. From the Covered Wagon and Stage Coach and Pony Express to the Railroad, Airplane, Telegraph, Telephone and Radio, Mrs. Martin was an eye-witness of many portentous changes. She died on July 6, 1928, at 102 years of age, respected and deeply mourned.

JAMES D. PHELAN.